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THE
ANDOVER REVIEW:
A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. XII.—OCTOBER, 1889.—No. LXX.

THE MINISTER'S STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.¹

THE minister I have in mind is one who has as much Hebrew as is usually got in a seminary course, and who wants to know more of the Old Testament. The daily duties of his calling, the preparation of sermons, his pastoral and social visiting, and the thousand and one miscellaneous demands on his time and thought, set narrow limits to his studious leisure; yet by wise economy of time, hard work, and patience, the busiest pastor can accomplish a great deal. But his time is too precious to be wasted in misdirected effort, or by working with poor tools. If these suggestions about apparatus and methods, which are the fruit of some experience both as a pastor and as a teacher, help any minister to get more out of his Old Testament study my object will be attained.

I have taken it for granted that this study will be, in part at least, upon the original text. But my assumption will no doubt be met with a question, Is it worth while for the ordinary minister to keep up his Hebrew? Would not the same time given to the study of the Old Testament in translation, with the help of good commentaries, be more profitable? And, for that matter, is it wise to insist on the study of Hebrew in the seminary? Would not the labor now spent in acquiring a meagre knowledge of the language be better spent on the branches of Old Testament study which are too often crowded out by mere grammar grinding?

¹ This paper is the second in a series of articles, designed for this REVIEW, on the Methods and Results of Biblical Science, under the direction of Professors Hincks, Moore, and Ryder. The first article appeared in the June number for the current year under the title, "The Gospel Miracles and Historical Science," and was prepared by Professor Hincks. — EDS.

It is certainly a great defect in our system of education, that the study of Hebrew is begun in the seminary. If students preparing for the ministry took Hebrew in the last two years of their college course, say two hours a week, the seminary being relieved of the drudgery of the elements could do its proper work far more satisfactorily, and perhaps the greatest cause of complaint would be removed. For the rest, the overcrowding of the curriculum, resulting from the multiplication of branches of study, will compel not only a readjustment of the course, but in all probability a modification of the system in the direction of greater freedom of choice on the part of the student. In some form or other the elective system is inevitable, in the professional school as well as in the college, and the experiment is now being tried in more than one of the seminaries.

But these questions raise a larger one. What is the object in studying the Old Testament in the original? What has the minister to gain by it? The answer which our fathers gave was definite and conclusive. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, the rule of faith and life. Inspiration, in any proper sense, belongs only to the Old Testament in Hebrew and the New Testament in Greek, which by God's singular care and providence have been kept pure in all ages. These alone are authoritative; to them the final appeal must lie. For the common man who seeks in the Scriptures his own instruction and edification, translations are a necessity; but the minister of the Word, whose tremendous commission is to proclaim to his fellow-men, "Thus saith the LORD," to teach them what they must believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of them, must not be dependent on translations and commentaries; he must read the very words which were immediately inspired of God, without the intervention of any human medium. The churches of the Reformation, therefore, with the exception of a few fanatical sects, all insisted that their ministers should know the original languages in which God's revelation was given, not only as a part of their general culture, "because it is highly reproachful to religion and dangerous to the church to entrust the holy ministry to weak and ignorant men," but as a specific requirement of their calling. For those who hold the Protestant doctrine of Scripture and the corresponding conception of the Christian ministry, this answer must still be sufficient. That there should be modern enthusiasts who decry the study of Greek and Hebrew, along with all other learning, as useless or harmful, is not strange; but it is

strange that they should call their attitude to the Scriptures conservative.

But I suppose that there are many ministers who are quite well aware that they do not think of the Bible just as the fathers did. The Word of God in Scripture is to them not so much "the rule of faith and practice," as a revelation of God in Christ which works faith and righteousness. "The words which I have spoken to you are spirit and life." The words in which we find spirit and life are for us inspired and inspiring. Inspiration is not merely an influence on the writers of Scripture, but a property of Scripture itself; it has the Spirit of God in it. Its mark is not freedom from error, but religious power. It belongs to the translations as much as to the original. The Old Testament, as well as the New, contains the Word of God, but the earlier Scriptures are, after all, not Christian Scriptures; it is not to them that we go for the words of eternal life. For those who hold such views, the motives which led the older Protestantism to lay such stress on the study of the original Scriptures have lost much of their force. But there remain reasons enough why the minister should not neglect his Hebrew Bible. He is a teacher of religion. He has not only to preach the gospel, but to show men what is the nature of the salvation in Christ which is offered in the gospel. But Christianity did not flash upon the world out of the blue sky. It is a historic religion which grew in the soil of Judaism and had its roots in the Old Testament. Like any other historical phenomenon it can be understood only historically. There is a sense in which the New Testament is the interpreter of the Old; the outcome of the development enables us to understand many things that were obscure in the development itself. But in a far more important sense the Old Testament is the interpreter of the New. To it we must go not only for the origin of the fundamental religious conceptions which Christianity took as it found them, but for the explanation of that which is new in it. The teaching of Jesus about the Kingdom of God, for example, or Paul's doctrine of redemption, can only be understood in the light of the law and the prophets. As a teacher of the Christian religion the minister must, therefore, be a student of the older Scriptures. And such a knowledge of the history of the religion of Israel and of the theology of the Old Testament as he needs can only be got by a diligent study of the Hebrew Bible. The best translation will not alone serve such a purpose. In all critical points the translation itself requires the interpretation of the original. No one

would think that he had a right to speak on the philosophy of Plato, who knew Plato only in Professor Jowett's version; or on the theology of the Qoran, who was dependent on Sale or Palmer. This is eminently true of a literature like the Old Testament, the product of a different race, a remote age, and of ways of thinking and feeling very unlike our own. The study of the language is, in such a case, a preparation for the understanding of the literature in another way, which is not always thought of; it is the best introduction to that race psychology, ignorance of which is the most fruitful source of error, especially in matters of religion.

Not only for the meaning of a book must we go to the original, but still more for its power. A good prose translation may give the sense of Homer well enough, but the power and the charm are gone; only to one who knows the Greek can it even suggest what Homer is. Demosthenes in English is no longer Demosthenes. The directness, the passion, the mastery are gone. It is not otherwise with Job or Isaiah. No labor is better rewarded than that which makes the prophets and poets of the Old Testament speak to us in their own words. Then they live again. And such a knowledge of Hebrew is not beyond the reach of the busy pastor, if it is sought in the right way.

To the apparatus of Old Testament study belong, first of all, grammar and dictionary. No array of commentaries can take their place. I must begin, therefore, with a few words about these tools. Grammars are of two kinds: elementary books for learners, and reference grammars. The former, in accordance with their practical aim, set forth briefly the facts which it is essential for the beginner to know; the latter give not only a fuller presentation of the facts, but the historical or psychological explanation of the phenomena, and register more or less exhaustively the anomalies of form or construction. It is very useful, from time to time, to review connectedly the elements of the language, especially if we are not using it all the time. For this purpose the best book I know is Strack's *Hebrew Grammar*.¹ It is well arranged, and its statements are exact, clear, and concise; the work of an accurate scholar and a skillful and experienced teacher. For a more thorough study of the language a larger work is necessary. I fear sometimes that the multiplication of elementary text-books and the use of them with beginners leads a

¹ H. L. Strack. *Hebräische Grammatik*. 2. Aufl. Berlin, 1885. *Hebrew Grammar*. By H. L. Strack. Berlin, 1886. Mrk. 4.80. May be had of B. Westermann & Co., 838 Broadway, New York.

good many to try to make shift with these instead of a grammar. Waste of time and labor can be the only result. As soon as the study of the Old Testament is taken up, a full and well indexed reference grammar is indispensable. Of works of this sort in English I should give the preference, on the whole, to Gesenius, in the translation of Davies-Mitchell.¹ The syntax is, however, quite inadequate. This defect is to be remedied in the forthcoming (25th) edition of the original, in which this part of the work will be entirely rewritten by Professor Kautzsch. Mitchell's Gesenius may be supplemented by Müller's "Outlines of Hebrew Syntax,"² which is perhaps the best introduction to the subject; or by Green's Grammar,³ the syntax of which has been thoroughly revised, and is, notwithstanding some serious omissions, to be warmly commended. The more advanced student will use with profit Ewald's great work,⁴ and Driver's admirable monograph on the tenses.⁵

The best dictionary in English is still Robinson's Gesenius;⁶ but this work, the greater part of which dates from 1843, and which has appeared unchanged in a whole series of title editions since 1854, is in many ways badly out of date. The student who uses it will do well to disregard the etymologies and all inferences based upon them, and to verify as far as he can the examples cited in illustration of usage. The minister who knows German enough to use a dictionary in that language to advantage should have the tenth edition of Gesenius's *Manual Lexicon*, edited by Mühlau and Volek,⁷ which, though by no means perfect, better represents mod-

¹ Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar*. Translated by B. Davies, LL. D. Revised and enlarged on the basis of the latest edition of Prof. E. Kautzsch, etc. By E. C. Mitchell, D. D. Andover: W. F. Draper. 1883.

² A. Müller. *Outlines of Hebrew Syntax*. Translated and edited by J. Robertson. Glasgow, 1882. 6s.

³ W. H. Green. *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language*. 4th ed. Pt. II. Syntax. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1889.

⁴ H. Ewald. *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Bundes*. 8. Ausg. Göttingen, 1870. The Syntax alone in translation: H. Ewald. *Syntax of the Hebrew Language*. Translated by James Kennedy. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879.

⁵ S. R. Driver, M. A. *A Treatise on the use of the Tenses in Hebrew, and some other Syntactical Questions*. 2d ed. Oxford, 1881.

⁶ Edward Robinson. *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. From the Latin of William Gesenius. 5th ed. 1854. Subsequent editions — the one before me bears the title 22d edition — are mere reprints.

⁷ Wilhelm Gesenius' *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. 10. verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Von F. Mühlau und W. Volek. Leipzig, 1886.

ern scholarship. Fürst's dictionary, translated by Davidson,¹ is in some ways a useful book, especially on points of late Hebrew usage and rabbinical tradition, which were too much neglected by Gesenius, but it can hardly be recommended as a safe guide. The handy little glossary of Davies² gives too few references to serve the purposes of exegetical study. The great Thesaurus of Gesenius³ is still the standard work of reference in this department, especially in what belongs to the historical side of lexicography.

The later German editions of Gesenius's "Handwörterbuch" serve to some extent the purpose of a concordance, inasmuch as they aim to cite all the passages in which rare words occur. If a complete concordance is needed, Fürst's⁴ is the best we have; B. Baer's,⁵ though in more convenient form to handle, is less accurate, and has the inconvenience of giving its references in Hebrew instead of Arabic numerals. For most of the purposes for which a Hebrew concordance is wanted, the various substitutes known as Englishman's Hebrew Concordances, Hebraist's Vade Mecums, etc., can only be used with considerable loss of time and patience.

The common editions of the Hebrew Bible, almost without exception, give the text of Van der Hooght, Amsterdam and Utrecht, 1705, which has indeed become a kind of Old Testament Textus Receptus. Better editions can, however, easily be picked up at second hand for a small sum. Among these that of Opitz, Kiel, 1709, is esteemed for its accuracy; the type is bold and clear, and may be commended to those who find Hebrew hard on the eyes. One of the best, as it is one of the most beautiful, editions is that of Jablonsky, Berlin, 1699. Copies on large paper, giving a wide margin for notes, are often found. The edition of J. H. Michaelis, Halle, 1720, is, in a critical point of view, more valuable

¹ J. Fürst. *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament.* 3. Aufl., bearbeitet von V. Ryssel. Leipzig, 1876.

S. Davidson. *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament.* Translated from the German of Fürst. 4th ed. London, 1871.

² B. Davies. *Compendious and complete Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Revised, etc., by E. C. Mitchell, D. D. Andover: W. F. Draper.

³ *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti.* 3 tom. Lipsiae, 1835-1853.

⁴ J. Fürst. *Librorum sacrorum Veteris Testamenti concordantiae Hebraicae et Chaldaicae.* Fol. Lipsiae, 1840.

⁵ B. Baer. *Jo. Buxtorfi concordantiae Bibliorum Hebraicae et Chaldaicae.* 4o. Stettin, 1861.

than either of these. Michaelis not only carefully compared the earlier printed editions, but collated some excellent manuscripts, notably the Erfurt codices. The margin is filled by a concise Latin commentary, which contains more matter than many thick books. The references to parallel passages especially are made with rare judgment. Unfortunately the poor paper on which it is printed, and the very small type used in the notes, make it hard reading. There are, however, large paper copies on better paper. For a number of books of the Old Testament we have now the critical editions of S. Baer, which give more accurately than any other the Massoretic text. These handy and cheap little volumes cannot be too highly commended.¹

The story is told, I think, of Hitzig, that he used to address his hearers at the beginning of the Semester on this wise: "Gentlemen, have you a Septuagint? If not, sell all you have and buy a Septuagint." The importance of the LXX to the student of the Bible can hardly be exaggerated. It represents a Hebrew text older than the official Palestinian recension, and often superior to it; it embodies an exegetical tradition from a time when the institutions of Judaism still flourished, and Hebrew was in some sense a living language; it contains a considerable part of the Jewish literature of the last centuries before Christ, a knowledge of which is essential to an understanding of the beginnings of Christianity; by its usage, rather than by that of the Greek classics, the language of the New Testament is to be interpreted; it was the Bible of the early church. Of older editions, that of Lambert Bos² is useful for its select variants, which include the readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, as far as then known. The text is that of the Roman edition. Other reprints of the Roman text are the editions of L. van Ess,³ and of Tischendorf.⁴ The critical apparatus of the latter is now supplemented

¹ S. Baer. *Liber Genesis*. Textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit. Praefatus est edendi operis adjutor Fr. Delitzsch. Lipsiae, 1869. *Liber Jesaiae*, 1872. *Liber Jobi*, 1875. *Liber duodecim prophetarum*, 1878. *Liber Psalmorum*, 1880. *Liber Proverbiorum*, 1880. *Libri Danielis Ezrae et Nehemiae*, 1882. *Liber Ezechielis*, 1884. *Quinque volumina*, 1886. *Liber Chronicorum*, 1888.

² L. Bos. *Vetus Testamentum ex versione septuaginta interpretum*, 40. Francker, 1709.

³ L. van Ess. *Vetus Testamentum graece juxta LXX interpretes*. Leipzig, 1887. Reprint of a stereotype edition of 1824, with valuable Prolegomena by Nestle.

⁴ C. v. Tischendorf. *Vetus Testamentum graece*, etc. Ed. VII. Prolegomena recognovit, supplementum auxit E. Nestle. 2 tom. Leipzig, 1887. Stereotype edition of 1850, with Appendix containing Nestle's apparatus.

by the accurate collations of E. Nestle, which are bound in with the sixth and seventh stereotype editions of Tischendorf, as an appendix, but may also be had separately.¹ The new Cambridge edition of the LXX² gives the text of the manuscripts, taking the Vatican codex as a basis, and exhibiting in the apparatus the variants of all the uncials. When completed, this edition will supersede all others. A critical edition of the LXX will, however, still remain to be made.

For the Greek of the LXX the common dictionaries often leave us in the lurch. Sophocles includes all the words found in this version in his lexicon;³ but for the comparison of the Greek with the Hebrew, Schleusner's Thesaurus⁴ will be found very useful.

The Latin translation of Jerome is, after the LXX, the most important of the versions. For text criticism it yields much less than the Alexandrian version, — Jerome read the Hebrew substantially as we do, — but for the interpretation of the Old Testament it is of the greatest value. In making his translation he had the aid of native scholars, and it represents the best learning of his time, Jewish as well as Christian. The modern versions, from Luther down, and the whole current interpretation of the Old Testament, Catholic and Protestant, are dependent upon Jerome to a degree seldom realized. We have, unfortunately, no satisfactory edition. The Roman Vulgate is, in most of the Old Testament, based on Jerome's new translation from the Hebrew, but is by no means identical with it. The edition of Heyse-Tischendorf⁵ gives the Roman text, professedly with a collation of the Codex Amiatinus in Florence. The collation is said to be worthless. A good edition of the Vulgate is that of Vercellone, Rome, 1861.

The Polyglot of Stier and Theile⁶ exhibits the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, with Luther's German, in parallel columns, in a form

¹ E. Nestle. *Veteris Testamenti graeci codices Vaticanus et Sinaiticus cum textu recepto collati.* Leipzig, 1887. This can be used with Van Ess, or the earlier editions of Tischendorf.

² H. B. Swete. *The Old Testament in Greek, according to the Septuagint.* Vol. i. Genesis — iv. Kings. Cambridge, 1887.

³ E. A. Sophocles. *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods.*

⁴ J. F. Schleusner. *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus, sive lexicon in LXX,* etc. 5 Parts. Leipzig, 1820–1821.

⁵ Th. Heyse, C. v. Tischendorf. *Biblia sacra latina veteris testamenti,* etc. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1873.

⁶ R. Stier, K. G. W. Theile. *Polyglotten-Bibel zum praktischen Handgebrauch.* 3 ed. 1864.

convenient for comparison; the LXX text, however, is edited on the most uncritical principles, and must be used with great caution.

In his study of the Hebrew Bible the minister will have two ends in view: first, to add to his knowledge of the language, to enlarge his vocabulary, and to gain greater readiness in the use of it; second, to train the exegetical faculties, to cultivate the accuracy, the methodical procedure, the fine tact, which are indispensable to the interpreter of a difficult text. These ends are naturally to be attained in different ways, the former by rapid and repeated reading of easy passages, the latter by the minute exegetical study of a book under the guidance of a good commentator.

If Hebrew has been long laid aside, it may be best, after a rapid review of the grammar, such as has been suggested above, to read over texts which were studied in the seminary, and to follow these by selections from the patriarchal histories in Genesis; for example, Abraham, Genesis xviii.-xxiv.; Joseph, Genesis xxxvii. ff. In general, for cursory reading, the historical books, Judges, Samuel, Kings, are to be preferred. Let me suppose that the book of Judges is taken up. How should we go about it? The first thing would be to read the book through carefully in the English version of 1885, noting the contents and divisions. When the reading is finished a minute analysis of the book should be made, and thoroughly impressed on the memory. The further study of the book should follow this analysis, and not the chapter divisions. Thus, for example, the first section does not end with chapter i. 36; but with ii. 5. It is a brief account of the conquest of Canaan, and contains a list of cities which Israel was not able to conquer, — Canaanite *enclaves* in the territory of the tribes. The whole, differing as it does very widely from the narrative of the conquest in the book of Joshua, is of the greatest historical value. We read this section in Hebrew with our attention fixed exclusively on the language, holding all questions of criticism, geography, and antiquities in abeyance. As a help to the understanding of the Hebrew, if any is needed, the Revised Version may be used, or, better, the Vulgate, which is in Judges a spirited translation, and not too literal. The use of the dictionary is not to tell us the meaning of common words, which can be learned with far less labor and loss of time from the context with the aid of a translation, but to coördinate the various meanings of a word we already know; to adduce examples cor-

roborative of usage; to bring together all that can be learned about the meaning of rare and obscure words from usage, exegetical tradition, or etymological combination; and to register peculiarities or irregularities of form. From the preparatory school on, the lexicon is chiefly used for a purpose for which it is not ordinarily necessary, and not used for the purpose for which it is indispensable. To fix the words in memory by a contextual association, it is a very useful exercise to read the Hebrew over aloud, carrying along the sense of the passage rather than a mental translation. This should be done not only with what we have just read, but with chapters which we have left for some time. Repeated and renewed impressions are the only means of securing what we have learned. Passages in which for any reason we are particularly interested may sometimes be committed to memory. To lay the foundations of a vocabulary, I often have my pupils make for themselves a glossary to a chapter or two, entering, as in a concordance, every occurrence of all words except the commonest particles, and advise them to learn it by heart in the process of making it. The 25th chapter of 1 Samuel is well suited to this purpose, as it contains, with few exceptions, only common words. For those who have made more progress, I know no better exercise than the retranslation of the LXX into Hebrew. On a second reading, geographical, archæological, and historical points may be investigated, and the text compared more closely with the versions. When a larger division of the book has been studied in this way, it should be rapidly reviewed to get the impression of the style by continuous reading; and when the whole has been finished it should be read through again with especial attention to the light which it throws on the religious beliefs and practices of the people in old Israel, distinguishing, of course, between the stories of the Judges themselves and the later framework in which they are now set.

The Books of Kings might be read in a similar way. Samuel presents greater difficulties, in consequence of the corruption of the Hebrew text, but the minister who would know something of the state of the text and the resources of criticism should by all means attempt it, with his Greek Bible in hand. The German scholar will find Wellhausen's monograph a most useful guide,¹ and an excellent practical introduction to text criticism. Woods' paper² may also be read with profit.

¹ J. Wellhausen. *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*. Göttingen, 1871.

² F. H. Woods. *The Light thrown by the Septuagint Version on the Books of*

For exegetical study the book of Isaiah might be taken for a beginning, not only on account of its intrinsic interest and importance, but because we are better off for helps on Isaiah than on almost any other part of the Old Testament. Canon Driver's "Isaiah: his Life and Times,"¹ is an admirable introduction to the book. It sets the prophet's work in the light of the history of his times, as we know it from Biblical sources and from the Assyrian monuments, and connects his words, as far as possible, with the occasions which called them forth. The critical questions which are started by the fact that there are a number of prophecies in the book of Isaiah which have no relation to Isaiah's age, but reflect the situation of a much later time, are discussed candidly and clearly. A thorough study of this little volume, with the English Bible in hand, will be the best preparation for the understanding of the prophecies, which, as historical utterances, must be interpreted by history. As a commentary there is none better than Cheyne's.² In it we have a new translation, often representing an emended text; introductions to the several prophecies; and a commentary, packed close with the fruits of a rich and varied learning; to which are appended critical and philological notes, and a series of essays on points connected with the book and its interpretation. The author thinks it wise, in the present state of Biblical scholarship, to separate, as far as possible, exegesis from criticism, and has endeavored in this volume to suppress himself as a critic. His views on critical questions may be learned from an earlier work, "The Book of Isaiah chronologically arranged,"³ and especially from his article "Isaiah," in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." The one drawback to the use of Cheyne's commentary for the end we have in view is, that it does not give the aid in the explanation of difficult words and forms which the student of the Hebrew text often needs. Unfortunately there is no recent English commentary which supplements it in this respect. The minister who reads German will find Delitzsch's excellent commentary⁴ valuable for

Samuel. Studia Biblica. Oxford, 1885. Professor Driver is shortly to publish Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel.

¹ In the Series, "The Men of the Bible." See ANDOVER REVIEW, vol. xi. (1889), 650.

² T. K. Cheyne. *The Prophecies of Isaiah.* 3d ed. New York: Th. Whitaker. 1884.

³ 1870.

⁴ Franz Delitzsch. *Biblischer Commentar über den Prophet Jesaia.* 3. Ausg. 1879. The English translation (T. & T. Clark) is from the 1st edition.

this purpose also. The brief notes in Bredenkamp's "Isaiah"¹ will also do good service. Cheyne's essay on "Isaiah and his Commentators," vol. ii., p. 268 ff, should be consulted by those who wish to know more of the extensive exegetical literature.

I will suppose, now, that the minister has prepared himself for the study of Isaiah by a careful reading of W. R. Smith's "Prophets of Israel,"² and Driver's "Isaiah," how shall he go to work? He will naturally first take up the prophecies whose genuineness is not challenged, since these must furnish the basis of comparison and judgment for the disputed chapters. Suppose, for illustration, that we have the fifth chapter before us. We should first read it through, as we did our historical texts, with the assistance of the Vulgate, the Revised Version, and Cheyne's translation, and make our analysis of the chapter. Then we are ready for the more minute study of the first division of the chapter, the beautiful parable of the vineyard, verses 1-7. We go through this, word by word, with dictionary and grammar, learning all that is to be learned about it in this way. For irregular forms the analytical appendix to the lexicon and the indexes to the grammar are to be used. If these do not suffice, we must have recourse to a commentary, — I have above recommended Delitzsch for this purpose, — or, if the difficulty arise from the state of the text, as is not infrequent, to the Critical and Philological Notes in the second volume of Cheyne. Questions of the latter sort, if of more than usual perplexity, may be reserved for special investigation afterwards. The results as they are worked out should be set down in a note-book, under chapter and verse, with references; and at first every word which has been looked up in grammar or dictionary had better be noted. This will enable us to review what we have studied without doing the work over. If the same word or form occurs again, reference should be made to the passage under which the results of our former investigation are recorded. Beside saving labor, the making of these cross-references cultivates the habit of remembering in what connection we have met a word before, a habit of the greatest value to the exegete. Next, the old versions, especially the Septuagint, are to be carefully compared, and differences of reading or of interpretation to be noted. It is a good plan to make such notes on the margin of the Hebrew Bible, if this is wide enough for the

¹ C. J. Bredenkamp. *Der Prophet Jesaia*. Erlangen, 1887.

² W. R. Smith. *The Prophets of Israel and their Place in History to the close of the Eighth Cent. B. C.* New York, 1882.

purpose; or an interleaved copy may be used. The meaning of rare words may also profitably be "cribbed" in, not from the next best translation, but from the result of our own study. In this way we should go through the chapter.

Then we may well turn back and read the chapter over at a sitting, with an eye to the literary character of the composition; the exquisite art of the opening parable, the climactic impression of the sixfold "Woe," the wonderfully vivid picture of the swift resistless oncoming of the Assyrian host. The historical and theological aspects of the prophecy next demand our attention; the light it throws on the moral and religious state of the times; the prophet's teaching of the character and will of God, of his hatred of Judah's sin, of the judgment and its instruments. What is learned thus should be compared with other utterances of Isaiah, and with the words of other prophets, especially those of his own century. For this purpose a reference Bible may be used; the best is, perhaps, the *Variorum Bible*,¹ edited by Cheyne and Driver, which is useful also for the notes on various readings and interpretations. It will be time then to take up the commentaries, comparing them with our own results, and confirming, supplementing, or correcting the latter by them. Cases where the opinion of a good commentator differs from that which we had formed from our own study should be carefully reconsidered, but without undue deference to the "authority" of the book. There is no authority in exegesis but that of good reasons. Every student of the Bible, in however humble a way, should take pains to preserve and cultivate his own independence of judgment; to make dictionaries and commentaries his advisers and helpers, not his masters. Many ministers, I fear, use commentaries in quite a different way, as a substitute for study rather than an aid in it. If they want to read a chapter, or to take the wise precaution of verifying a text in the Hebrew Bible, the commentary is their first and last resort. With what kind of a conscience an educated man can do that, I do not profess to understand; equally little how he can give out as his own the mere plunder of a raid on somebody else's learning. I do not, of course, mean to imply that there is no other proper use of a commentary than that which I have described above. On the contrary, it is a very good plan to read with a commentary books which we have not been able to work over for ourselves. But the knowledge

¹ *The Holy Bible, etc., with Various Renderings and Readings.* Published by Eyre & Spottiswoode.

gained in this way, useful as it is, is to be regarded as provisional only.

When we have finished our study of the chapter it will be well to prefix to our notes on each subdivision a short descriptive title, or motto, in which its most distinctive truth or lesson is expressed, and to add to them such practical observations or suggestions for sermons as have occurred to us. The minister who studies a prophetic book in the way I have indicated will find it full of lessons for our own times, as well as of instruction and inspiration for the preacher. He will do wisely to note them down where they can be readily found, and where they will be recalled to him at each re-reading of the passage. But if he wants to preserve his own manliness and self-respect let him eschew homiletic outlines, sermon hints, and whatever else the second-hand ideas may be called which are marketed in preachers' magazines and a certain kind of commentaries. Besides, a man pays much too dear for ready-made sermonic material which he buys at the price of his own originality. It is not, therefore, as a quarry for sermons, or ideas for sermons, that I recommend the minister who is studying Isaiah to add to his exegetical commentaries G. A. Smith's volume on Isaiah in the Expositor's Bible,¹ but as an instructive illustration of what a good critic and interpreter can make of the book in the pulpit. If our Protestant laymen are to know anything worth while about the Bible, it must be through a revival of expository preaching; and expository preaching that intelligent men will listen to must be the fruit of faithful and well-directed exegetical study. That this sort of preaching has fallen into general disfavor and disuse, is due chiefly to the fact that ministers were too much in the habit of taking to it when they had not had time to prepare a regular sermon, and either crammed or improvised their material. Well done, it will always be popular. The minister who has studied the Old Testament should preach on it. It will quicken his interest and increase his tact in practical interpretation.

But where, I think I hear some of my readers ask a little impatiently, is time for all this to come from? I should answer that the pastor's difficulty is not ordinarily that he has not time enough, but that he can no longer, as in his student days, command long uninterrupted stretches of time. All his habits of study must be reformed. Many never adjust themselves to these

¹ G. A. Smith. *The Book of Isaiah*. Vol. I. Is. i.-xxxix. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1888.

new conditions, and think that because they cannot sit down for hours together at their books they have no time for study. We have to learn to use the broken bits of time, the intervals of our more exacting occupations. The course of study I have outlined above has been planned with special reference to this fact; that as little as possible may be lost by interruptions. That it can be carried out I know. In the first years of my own ministry I read a large part of the Old Testament in Hebrew on Sunday evenings, after the second service. For a while I devoted Monday morning to exegetical study; afterwards I set apart the first half hour every morning for this work, and found it an excellent preparation for sermonizing. Every one, of course, must fix upon the time which best suits his own circumstances and habits of work. If the time for these studies cannot be found in any other way, there are few who might not save it out of the hours they give to the newspapers, secular and religious, and the popular magazines. Indeed, most ministers would know the Bible very well if they devoted to it half the time they spend on reading as ephemeral as the grass of the field, "which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven." And, really, it is worth while.

George F. Moore.

THE PROBLEM OF THE MODERN CITY CHURCH.

NO cast-iron rules can be laid down for church work. Success depends often as much upon not doing some things as upon doing other things. The successful minister must be an eclectic, with a large liberty of action, a large knowledge of his church and its environment, and an average stock of sanctified common sense. The traditions of the past, and the experiences of others, are useful to him only so far as he is able to modify and adjust them to the conditions of his own field. Churches differ as individuals differ. The problem which confronts the country church differs from that which confronts the city church, and among the city churches the conditions of success are by no means the same.

There is one question, however, in the solution of which all the churches are vitally interested. It is the burning question of the age: How shall the masses be reached and converted? The problem bristles with difficulties, and to those who stand face to face with the churchless multitudes it seems almost insoluble.

Every attempt to solve it in a practical way is watched with sympathetic interest by all earnest Christians.

Every community, divided according to its relations to this subject, falls into three classes: first, the regular church-goers, who can be depended upon to support the religious institutions of the community under all circumstances; secondly, the semi-occasional church-goers, who have some conscience concerning their religious obligations, whose hereditary instincts or early associations lead them to send their children to the Sunday-school and to attend themselves an occasional Sunday-school concert or service of worship; and, thirdly, the non-church-goers, who have absolutely no interest in religious matters, who are never seen in God's house, and who practically do not know that there is such a house in the town. The question of churching and evangelizing the masses relates, of course, to these last two classes: to those who have a slight hold on the church, and to those who are indifferent to or opposed to it. The first class are already within the doors of the sanctuary, and their needs give rise to problems quite different from those which concern the non-church-going community.

Now the query arises, Are we not basing our preaching and our methods of work too exclusively upon the needs of this first class? Are we not looking through their eyes, and hearing through their ears, and shaping our policy and administration more to suit their tastes and prejudices, than with a view of interesting and attracting these other two classes. Take the case of preaching, for instance. The regular church-goers have fixed, unconsciously perhaps, a certain standard for the proper sermon, which few preachers have the courage to depart from. This standard is usually determined by the tastes and whims of those who have a large influence in the congregation, and any violation of it is sure to arouse a kind of criticism which is exceedingly mortifying to a sensitive nature. Mr. A. is a man of large culture, and is proud of his attainments. He does not like the colloquial style of preaching, and shudders when his minister uses a provincialism, or a phrase which is adapted to catch the ear of the common people. Mr. B. has a horror of anything which savors of the drama. He does not want any acting in the pulpit. Mr. C., whose commercial morality does not quite square with the Decalogue, dislikes a minister who is continually harping on honesty in business, and other secular topics. He wants to hear the simple gospel. While Mr. D. refuses flatly to pay a dollar towards the salary of the man who drags politics or temperance into the pulpit. With these critics

before him the minister is tempted to prune his sermon and his delivery to meet their requirements, and in so doing clips off the very wings which would bear the truth to the hearts of the masses. One of the brightest thinkers in the English pulpit has recently said: "If we have preached badly, as undoubtedly we have, it is partly the fault of our hearers. For they have presented to us the horns of a very awkward dilemma. When we were not interesting, they called us dry; but when we were interesting, they called us irreverent, declared that we were secularizing the pulpit, and described our sermons by the opprobrious epithet of 'lectures.' In order to avoid the second horn of the dilemma, we have thrown ourselves upon the first. It may seem strange, but it is true that, much as society grumbles at the dullness of sermons, it really would not like them to be anything else. For if they were not dull they might be practical, and it would be extremely disagreeable to listen to a man who made one feel that there was anything wrong either with one's opinions or with one's conduct. Society does not want to be disturbed. It desires only the confirmation of its prejudices. In order to preserve itself from interference, and to preserve the pulpit in a state of uselessness, it has laid down a number of rules to which the preacher is expected to conform."

But it is not merely in the matter of preaching that we are catering to the regular church-goer rather than to the unchurched public. Most of our church work is trammelled with the bonds of exclusiveness. It is done for the most part within a narrow ecclesiastical sphere, and for the favored few who happen to be directly or indirectly interested in our denomination. What attractions has the ordinary prayer-meeting for the ordinary sinner? We are surprised when we see him in the prayer-room, and wonder what brought him there. A stranger happening into a country prayer-meeting sets the whole assembly agog, and is liable to be talked about for a week. Should a dozen business men or mechanics from the non-church-going classes invade the Friday evening meeting in some of our city churches, no one would be more startled than the Christians themselves. They would suspect a conspiracy of some kind.

And too often the social life of the church is as exclusive as the devotional life. It is planned and carried on with little reference to the needs of the outsiders. The Christian, instead of attending the social gathering with this question uppermost in his mind, "What stranger shall I welcome and entertain to-night?" goes with

the feeling that it is somebody's duty to entertain him; and as a result, when a company of these Christians get together they wonder why everybody is so unsocial; while the new-comer, feeling very much like an unbidden guest and an intruder, wonders whether he cannot quietly get his hat and slip out unobserved into the more congenial chill of God's greater temple.

It must be remembered that the non-church-goer, as a rule, regards as a bore the very thing which the Christian esteems as a privilege, and that in order to make him change his opinion he must be brought around to a different standpoint, where he can be made to see that the church is interested in the things which interest him. It is all very well to open our church-doors on the Lord's day and say to the masses, Come in. The sad truth is, however, they will not come on any such invitation. Eloquent preaching, fine music, comfortable seats may attract a few of the second class mentioned, — the semi-occasional church-goers, — but the latter class will respond to none of these things. Should those of us who are preachers take a canvass of our congregations for the purpose of finding how many of those who have listened to our preaching the past year were non-church-goers one, two, or five years ago, the result would doubtless surprise us. It is probable that in most of our churches the accessions of this kind are not as numerous as the divisions of the pastor's last sermon on the universal conquest of the gospel. The attendance has been increased, if at all, either at the expense of other congregations, or from the habitually non-church-going classes. Only in rare cases has any serious break been made in that circumambient wall of indifference and worldliness which is pressing hard upon us, and which, like the inclosing walls of the Inquisition prison-cell, is crushing the very life out of some of our churches.

Before a church can succeed very largely in evangelizing a thickly populated district it must, in a sense, put itself in the place of the non-church-goer, look through his eyes, and shape its methods somewhat according to his tastes and prejudices. Not that the church should conform to the world, but that it should be all things to all men in the true Pauline sense, that by all means it may save some. The spirit of selfish exclusiveness must give place to a broad spirit of adaptiveness. The average man of the world is likely to be interested in the church just as soon as he is convinced that the church is interested not merely in his spiritual but in his temporal welfare. So long as he is a natural man he will not and cannot discern spiritual things. They are foolishness

to him. The spiritual truth has no hold upon him. His spiritual nature is dead. In order to get him into an attitude where you can preach effectively to him, you must appeal first to that which is alive within him. That was Christ's method. He healed and fed men, and then He preached to them.

We hear a great deal said about preaching the simple gospel, the implication being that the church has done its whole duty when it has provided for the public a pulpit and a preacher. But what is the gospel? It has been well said, "that many of those who have this word constantly on their lips would be quite incapable of giving any clear account of what they mean by it." The gospel is preaching plus practice, truth plus life. It is truth exemplified in character, expressed in ministration, and materialized into beneficent institutions. It is the word made flesh, the truth working in and through all secular life. The preaching without the life cannot save the world, nor will it have much, if any, effect on the unchurched millions. If Christian life and ministration had been in proportion to Christian preaching the past eighteen hundred years, we should now be well on in the millennium. All through the ages there has been a tendency in the church to base its hopes of transforming the world upon truth declared, rather than upon truth exemplified, — upon doctrine, rather than upon practice, "and what have eighteen centuries to show for it? To-day three fourths of the globe is heathen, or but semi-civilized. After eighteen hundred years of preaching, how far has Christianity gone in the amelioration of the condition of the race? The torpors, the vast retrocessions, the long lethargic periods, and the wide degeneration of Christianity into a kind of formalistic and conventional usage, show very plainly that the past history of Christian preaching is not to be our model."

Christ knew that there would be many upon whom His words would produce little impression, and so He said: "Though ye believe not me, believe the works." "A tree is known by its fruits." "By this shall men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory . . . before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another. . . . Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come: . . . for I was an hungered, I was thirsty, I was naked, sick, in prison, and ye ministered unto me. Then shall he say also to them on the left hand, Depart: . . . for I was an hungered, I was thirsty, I was a stranger, naked, sick, in prison, and ye ministered not unto me.

Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it not unto me." This last passage is the most graphic statement found in the Gospels of the conditions of membership in Christ's earthly and heavenly kingdom. It makes that membership to depend, not upon something believed merely, but upon something done. *Come: for* I was in need and ye ministered unto me. *Depart: for* I was in need and ye ministered not unto me. This seems almost like a startling contradiction of Luther's doctrine of justification by faith, but it is not such. It is a far more comprehensive statement of that doctrine than many of Luther's disciples have been disposed to accept. It implies that kind of faith the *sine qua non* of which is works. The Christian who complies with these requirements, and transmutes his faith into ministration, need have no fears as to his influence over the masses. He becomes a potent magnet, in kind like unto his Lord, who, when lifted up in self-sacrificing love, was to draw all men unto himself. The same is true of the church. It will become attractive to the people when it becomes in the truest sense of the word a ministering church; when it exchanges its selfish exclusiveness for the broad, self-denying spirit of its Great Head. It should be the source and centre of all beneficent ministration. It should allow no other philanthropic or charitable institution, however worthy, to point to its closed doors and folded hands, and say: "What are you doing to relieve the sick, to aid the widow and the fatherless, to feed the hungry, and to raise the fallen?"

In neglecting these its prime duties it loses its influence in a field which legitimately belongs to it, and lets slip some of its grandest prerogatives. This influence and these prerogatives pass over to the outside lodge or association, which, by doing the things that the church ought to be doing, becomes a substitute for it in the interest and affections of the non-church-going public.

But should the church be made an asylum or hospice for the broken-hearted, the broken-willed, and the broken-bodied? Why not? It was designed for this purpose by our Lord, and such it was made by his disciples. The modern church, with its rented pews, closed doors, and six days interregnum of inactivity, can hardly be said to have its prototype in the Church of the Old Jerusalem, or its antitype in the Temple of the New Jerusalem; for the first was certainly organized for "*daily* ministration" (Acts vi. 1); and in the second, "the gates shall not be shut at all by day" (Rev. xxi. 25). It is not the asseverations of the min-

ister on the first of the seven days, but the ministrations of the people during each of the seven days, that make a church aggressive, and in that sense a worthy successor of its apostolic original. Such a church is neither controversial nor apologetic. It does not mistake the cleave-ax of the sectarian for the sword of the Spirit. It refutes error by actualizing the truth. It conquers man by helping him to conquer himself. It defeats the world by blessing it. Such a church, as the body of Christ, filled and inspired by the Spirit of Christ, stands like the voiceful light on the Damascus road, a resplendent contradiction to the taunts and objections of the scoffer.

Fortunately the number of churches of this positive, aggressive type is already sufficiently large to make it impossible for any one to say that the positions taken in this article are visionary, or at best only practicable in exceptional cases. Any one who has read Mr. Loomis's book, "Modern Cities and their Religious Problems," knows that in England the church, as an every-day working organization, is a common thing. In this respect England is far in advance of our own country. We have been making great progress in this direction, however, during the past ten or fifteen years. Churches can be found in almost every American city which have either radically changed their methods of work or are in process of changing them. St. George's Church in New York is a notable example of how an effete organization, when touched and filled by the ministering Spirit, becomes transformed into a many-sided institution that throbs with life and bustles with activity. The interest taken in these new enterprises by clergymen and laymen alike is a sure indication that deep down in the Christian heart there is much dissatisfaction with the results of the past, and a desire for something better.

The churches which are undergoing these changes have many of them been compelled to employ new methods or die. Providence seems to be taking the matter in hand, and forcing the American Christians to do, through dire necessity, what they ought to have done long ago, unconstrained save by the compulsion of love.

The phenomenal growth of our cities has brought into being many "down-town" churches. The family constituency which once supported them has moved away, leaving in the vicinage a fluctuating population made up largely of clerks, young married people with small incomes, and others in moderate circumstances, — the classes from which are to come the future business men of the city.

In the immediate vicinity of one of these down-town churches it is estimated that there are to-day twice as many individuals as there were before the wealthier families moved away. Most of these new-comers are young people, and of Protestant parentage. For such a church to disband because its old methods are ineffective would be to abandon the harvest because the sickles are few and dull. It would be better for Boaz to throw them aside and buy him a modern reaper. There are usually people enough around every such church to fill it. The trouble is, a good many churches seem to regard this particular class of people as of very little account. They look upon them as a certain Western young lady did. A clergyman, who was filling her father's pulpit on a vacation Sunday, said to her after the service: "You have a large summer congregation here." "Oh, yes," she replied, "but these are the stay-at-homes. Our nice people are all out of town."

The "stay-at-homes" constitute the bulk of the so-called masses. They form four fifths of the country's population. They are the class from which the Nazarene himself sprang, the class among whom He labored, and who always heard Him gladly. The church that ignores them can hardly be said to have his spirit. It is with this great middle class that the problem of evangelization is most vitally concerned. If they can be won for Christ the triumph of his church is assured. If they abjure Christianity, then alas for our millennial hopes! Some churches, because of their location and environment, cannot directly reach many of this class, but this makes them no less responsible for the solution of our problem. The very fact that they are thus situated implies that God has so prospered them as to make it incumbent upon them to maintain a double work, that in their own field, and some aggressive work among the masses elsewhere.

It is in this coöperation of the up-town and down-town churches that the ideal church of the future is to be realized; and when it appears it will be an Institutional Church, that is, a church with several pastors and other salaried workers, and many well-organized departments of work. It is impossible for one man to discharge in a satisfactory manner the multiform duties of a city pastorate. There are differences of administrations, and diversities of operations, and there should be workers of differing gifts to carry them on. The aggregate salaries need not much exceed the salary of the star preacher; and a church worked in this way, by men and women of even ordinary ability, will show results that will far exceed any which can come from mere brilliant

preaching. The pulpit is not to be neglected or belittled in this coming church. The preaching is to be earnest, practical, evangelical, and *frequent*. The sermon, however, is not, as is so often the case, to be the only thing which is offered to attract the people to the sanctuary. The chief attraction is to be the worth-ship of God. Music, that potent aid to worship, shall swell from the many-throated organ, and blend with the language of praise on the lips of the congregation, chorus, and choir, or with the voice of the sweet singer in Israel, whose sermon in song may perchance touch the heart which the sermon in prose leaves unaffected. The contribution plate, that other important aid to worship, shall have its place, and shall be laden with the ungrudged offerings of a thankful people. The seats shall be absolutely free, the doors always open; and should the mysterious mendicant, who shared the crust of Sir Launfal, enter them, he would feel at home. This church will recognize the fact that the gospel is concerned with the body, soul, and spirit,—with Sunday and all the rest of the week; and to this end it will emphasize the sacredness of many so-called secular things, knowing that there is not half the danger of secularizing the church that there is of failing to spiritualize the secular life. Just here, perhaps, will come its first serious break with the church of the past, or perhaps I should say, of the present. Many will say: "The church edifice is a sacred place, and ought not to be used for secular purposes." Others will say: "Does the gift desecrate the altar? or does the altar sanctify the gift? Is not the secular pursuit which is devoted to a spiritual end made doubly effective when carried on within the shadow of the church itself?" It is possible to be more solicitous for the sanctity of the church-building than for the salvation of souls.

Here are two edifices. The doors of the one are closed throughout the week. To use the words of a newspaper reporter who made a tour among the churches in August, "The place is a picture of desolation, with dust lying deep upon the step, and dried leaves rustling in the corners. . . . The spiders have free play over the huge pillars. . . . The birds have it all their own way; and if the janitor sweeps off the sidewalk once in a while, that is all that can be expected." The other church has open doors, and is bristling with signs of life. By the central entrance are the words: "Come in, Rest, and Pray." One sign points to the reading-rooms, another to the pastor's offices, and still another to the secular class-rooms. The thresholds are worn by the feet of the hundreds who find fre-

quent rest, sympathy, help, entertainment, and spiritual refreshment within. Every evening the windows are ablaze with light, and if the man of the world looks into them he will see many young men and women, — some engaged in reading, some in conversation, some in innocent games, and others in learning some useful art or handicraft. If it be Friday evening, the lights go out in the class-rooms at precisely half-past seven, and he sees the occupants making their way to the main vestry to participate in the weekly prayer-meeting; the whole scene illustrating in a graphic manner the underlying principle of the church administration, which is to make the secular tend towards and culminate in the spiritual. Few would be willing to say that this second edifice is any less sacred than the first; and none could say that those who worship in it are any less devout, or less active, or less conscious of the scope and meaning of the Christian life, than those who worship in the other. The former building may be located in that part of the city where it is liable to have more sparrows in its steeple than people in its pews, especially in August. Its congregation, though loving humanity as Christ loved it, may have none of the masses around them who can be reached directly by secular means. Let these facts be admitted; but let not the impression prevail that such an edifice is any more sacred because of its isolation from the busy world, and its unbroken week-day quietude.

But to speak more particularly of this secular work. It may be classified under three heads: Relief, Entertainment, and Instruction. Through each of these departments the church can exemplify the gospel spirit and attach itself strongly to the surrounding community.

Take the Relief department. In an ordinary city parish there are a multitude of calls for advice and material aid, which, if properly attended to, would more than occupy the time of one man. These demands for help on the part of the poor and the unfortunate are the cries which mark the crises in not a few lives. They are the golden opportunities for the church to rescue the souls that are about to sink. A perfunctory charity is useless in such cases. To turn the suppliants over to the city organization is to put them perhaps forever beyond the reach of the church influence. What they need is not merely an investigation of their woes and a little material aid, but sympathy, downright sympathy, from a heart that beats in unison with the heart which blessed the leper, the blind man, and the Magdalen. They may be impostors. Some

of them are; but that makes the need of Christian counsel greater. Christ came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. Let the church get hold of the impostor and convert him. That is a part of her mission. She may not succeed; but she will be stronger for the effort. Infinitely patient must she be with the weaknesses and sins of humanity; tender as a mother; long-suffering, gentle, forgiving. The duty of the church to tramps, impostors, and other mendicants is possibly, to some, a conception quite absurd. They have been in the habit of tossing a penny to the tramp, or turning him from the door, without a thought of his soul. That was the kind of treatment which the tramp received who lay at Dives' gate. That tramp was found at last, however, in Abraham's bosom; but it is not at all probable that Dives helped him to get there. If there are any so mean or low that the church has no responsibility concerning them, their case is not mentioned in the Bible. There is something wonderfully impressive to the common sinner in the fact that a great Christian organization, through some sympathetic representative, is reaching out its hand to save him from suffering and wrong. The wife of an infidel appealed for aid to a certain church in Boston last winter, and received it. "Ah," said she, as she returned to her desolate home and sick husband, "the church which you have reviled all your life has proved to be our only friend in our time of need." This was too much for the scoffer. He burst into tears, and has ever since been a regular church attendant and a different man. Let a church once convince a community that its one aim is to make men happier and better in this world as well as in the next, and no day will pass in which it will not have opportunities to help the needy and cheer the despairing. One such church during the past year has had a large number of interesting cases. Among those who have sought sympathy and help within its walls are the mothers and wives of drunkards, young men out of work and almost on the verge of desperation, Catholics looking for the light, victims of fraud and cruelty, and slaves of the cup. Among the latter class was a talented young man, a lawyer, of a good family in England. He was a prodigal in a strange land. He had come to the husks. He wandered into the reading-room of the church, met one of the pastors there, and told his story. He was taken in hand, provided with clerical work, and helped through the struggle of giving up his cups. To-day he is connected with one of the leading firms of the city, clothed and in his right mind. Another of this class, who was

kept under the eye of the church for a time, became a Christian, and is now doing editorial work on a leading suburban journal; and still another was employed in distributing reading matter, and doing other work connected with the relief office. A personal influence was brought to bear upon him. He became a Christian and a member of the church. These men, and others like them, were saved by being kept in touch with the church. They were given something to do, and their board was paid till they were tided over the breakers. They gave back in willing service more than their rescue cost in dollars and cents. To carry on this department has required all the time of one man, and much of the time of other workers. Many of the results are intangible and unrecordable; but the work has told for Christ and the church.

A second department of the secular work relates to entertainment. Some will doubtless demur at this word in this connection. They do not believe that the church should have anything to do with entertainment of any kind. There is an honest difference of opinion, however, on this subject. If it be true that man is the only animal that laughs, it might be inferred that the sense of humor belongs to that part of his nature which is immortal, and should be duly regarded in all efforts to mould and discipline that nature for its heavenly life. It certainly ought to be as worthy of consideration as physical fear, a purely animal instinct, which has played so large a part in the preaching of the orthodox pulpit during the past century. All appeals to the emotional nature are but the preparation for sowing the seed. It matters not whether the soil be upturned by the plow or tickled by the rake, provided only the harvest be assured. Let the heart be deeply stirred by the terrors of the law, or let it be mellowed by a little humor deftly handled, only let the sowing be of solid grain and not of chaff. It is a significant fact that the most successful evangelists and the most popular preachers, as a rule, "do not disdain to distract and divert their audience by an appeal to that peculiarly human faculty, the faculty of laughter." The desire to be entertained is universal; and if the truth were known, many who condemn all kinds of diversion as contrary to the gravity of religion, attend church and estimate the preacher as good, bad, or indifferent solely according to his ability to say something which happens to be diverting to them. There are few churches which do not tolerate amusements of some kind, and yet the whole subject of amusements is handled so gingerly, even by its advocates,

that the young people who engage in them are made to feel like culprits, while the outside world gets the impression that the church is tolerating in practice what it condemns in principle. If it be true that no class of amusements can be made a secular means to reach a spiritual end, then let all amusements be discarded by the church. But if it be true that a large class of people need to be diverted from the world before they can be converted to Christ, then let this subject of diversion have its legitimate and honored place in the administration of the church. Let us not be afraid of it, nor relegate it to the realm of questionable practices. If the boys can be kept from the streets and the saloons by innocent games and pure reading matter provided by the church; if young men can be reached through athletics and manly sports; if worldly men and women can be brought into touch with Christian life and character through the social instincts; then let every church have its reading-rooms, gymnasium, ball ground, and social gathering; but in all of these places let it be made manifest that the church, while it desires to please, desires most of all to develop Christian manhood and womanhood. All effective instruments must be handled with care. The objections urged against church amusements are mainly due to a haphazard policy of managing them. If not held by a strong hand as a means to an end, they are in danger of becoming mere aimless frivolities. If the pastor does not feel that he is master of the situation in this, as in all other departments, it would be wiser for him to leave it out of his scheme of church work.

Diversion as a means of reaching the masses should be carefully studied and experimented with; and the opportunities which it offers should be promptly improved, as in the case of every other agency of the church. For example, one of the most effective methods of reaching non-church-goers has been found to be a first-class series of weekly concerts, lectures, and readings held under the auspices of the church. This method has been elaborately developed the past year, and with good results, in the parish already alluded to. The field was first carefully canvassed, and it was found that of the thirty thousand people in the neighborhood, some five thousand were by their own admission non-church-goers. These five thousand names were placed in a separate book, with the residence, occupation, number of the family, nationality, and other helpful notes against each name. Here was something tangible to work upon, — a field which would test the aggressive agencies of the church to the utmost. A direct appeal

to these people to attend church would do little good. Most of them would resent a personal approach on the subject of religion. They must be reached, if at all, by indirection. The entertainments were free, but the people were admitted by tickets which were previously distributed to them. Marked tickets were sent each week to a certain number of the non-church-goers, and when these marked tickets were presented at the doors it was known approximately who had responded. After the same people had been across the church threshold several times it was deemed that they might safely be visited by some member of the congregation and personally invited to the pastor's reception, or to the Sunday services. While it is impossible to give any exact figures as to the result of this method, it is safe to say that it has been instrumental in interesting more outsiders in the church and its work than many other agencies combined. It has familiarized a large number of irreligious people with the interior of the church, and broken down many of their deep-rooted prejudices. The plan involves much personal oversight and labor, and requires most of the time of a special clerk; but all its difficulties are offset by the single fact that no method has been found more efficacious in creating, in a natural and pleasant way, the first bond of attraction between the church and the indifferent outsider. The plan can easily be made self-supporting through the contributions which are willingly given at the entertainments.

The third division mentioned was that of Instruction. It includes all of those agencies, the object of which is to help people to help themselves. In this kind of work many churches in England have been successfully engaged for many years. One is almost dazed as he looks through the long list of their charitable and industrial departments. This list reveals the fact that in the mother country there is no interest pertaining to man's temporal well-being which is deemed unworthy of the fostering care of the church. Work of this kind is so rare in America that the few pastors who ventured to introduce it were almost regarded at first as dangerous innovators. Had these ministers proposed to become bakers and milliners themselves, some of their people could not have been more dumfounded than they were when it was suggested that a cooking-school and dress-making class be started in the church.

The conventional church architecture of the present day does not admit of the necessary facilities for carrying on efficiently the various branches of this department. There should be several

class-rooms specially furnished for the work. It is one of the signs of the times, however, that several of the churches which have been built within the past five years are provided with these facilities: for example, the Pilgrim Church, in Worcester, which has a fine gymnasium, a carpenter's shop, well furnished with tools, a printing office, and a large number of class-rooms; and the St. George's Church, in New York, which has erected a magnificent structure thoroughly furnished for all kinds of secular instruction. In another church the industrial work is at present directed from two rooms. One is the headquarters of the work for women, and is called the Dorcastry; the other is under the care of the Young Men's Institute, and is called the Corner-Stone room. Both rooms are attractively furnished, and provided with the best reading matter and a variety of games. The superintendent of the Dorcastry, and the director of the Corner-Stone room are present every evening to welcome strangers and supervise the work in general. The former is a Christian lady whose whole time is devoted to the church. Scores of young men and women frequent these rooms and receive instruction in the various classes during the week. There is the class in painting, for example. But should painting be taught in the name of the church? Why not? There are thousands of young women of refined natures and artistic instincts in our great cities, who are obliged to lodge in cheerless attic rooms, and board at restaurants. What higher work of ministration can a church do than to gather some of these young women together in a bright room, under earnest Christian teachers, who shall teach them how to add a touch of beauty to the dull gray of their monotonous work-day life? Then there is the sewing school, where the bright-eyed little misses gather eagerly every Saturday to learn a useful handicraft; and the kitchen garden, where they learn the art of keeping house and waiting on their mothers; and the dress-making class, which saves the pupils a good many long bills from Madame Modiste. Then there are the classes in the history of art, and stenography, and elocution, and penmanship, and arithmetic, and type-writing; and it is proposed another season to add type-setting, carpentry, and wood-carving.

Most of these departments are carried on by the members of the congregation as a labor of love. It goes without saying that they have been greatly blessed while blessing others.

In reviewing what has been said, it appears that the church which honestly tries to adapt these secular means to a spiritual

end accomplishes three things which add much to the solution of the vexed problem of evangelizing the masses. First: It attracts to itself a large number of people who, under the ordinary conditions of our church life, would not be brought within the influence of the gospel. This has invariably been the case whenever the experiment has been tried in this country. Secondly: It confers an actual blessing on the objects of its ministration, and so fulfills the law of Christ. Such a church puts its warm hand, athrill with the heart-beats of the Saviour, into the hand of the distressed, the tempted, and the fallen; and leads them out into a large place. It may be said that this is the duty of the individual Christian, and so it is; but it is also the duty of the church as a church. For, thirdly, in attending to this duty as an organization it will make that impression upon the community without which it must inevitably become effete. It might often seem, to a superficial critic, that there was a larger outlay of time and energy in this kind of work than the results would justify. The mathematical Christian who is forever trying to solve the arithmetic of the Trinity, or presuming to demonstrate the results of church work in terms of the addition table or by the rule of three, might be disappointed with his figuring. The true value of such a work lies not in the material, or even in the spiritual help which may have been given to a few individuals; it lies rather in that indefinite yet potent influence, which like a subtle fragrance pervades the surrounding community, and counteracts the malaria of scorn and doubt which threatens the religious life of our times.

There are two or three objections to the positions taken in this article which call for a word in closing: The financial expense involved in maintaining such a church, the complexity of the organization, and the materialistic tendencies of the plan.

In answer to the first objection, it may be said that the necessary expenses will not seem large when the number of workers and the amount of work done are taken into the account. As a matter of fact, the actual cost of running such an organization is no greater than that incurred by many large city churches where they have but one salaried officer and a choir, and where the church is open but once or twice a week.

As to the objection that there is too much machinery, it may be said that one great lack of the churches is that of system and organization. If there were a more definite aim, and more systematic effort, there would be greater spiritual life. Things are

often left to run themselves, and they either run off the track or not at all. Intelligent business men, who are masters of the intricate machinery of trade and industry, and strict even to scrupulosity in their business transactions, often become parties to disorderly methods in church affairs, which, if employed by a neighbor in the commercial world, would condemn him to the pillory of their ridicule and contempt. The more beautiful the tapestry, the more delicate and intricate must be the machinery. The fabric of a perfected humanity can be woven in no bungling loom. We live in an age of wheels, ay, wheels within wheels, the swift revolutions of which are more dazing than the vision which Ezekiel saw. What is needed in the church is not less machinery, but more steam,—not fewer wheels, but more of the “living creature” within.

Which, perhaps, is the best answer that can be given to the last objection concerning the material and secular phases of this kind of church work. If the impression has been given that the various methods suggested here are in any sense to overshadow or supersede the ordinary means of grace, the pen has unfortunately belied the writer's intent. That intent was to present as clearly and fairly as possible a phase of church work which is just now arousing to an unusual degree the interest of the Christian world. It is true that this phase of work deals with material interests and secular means; but it is taken for granted that back of all, and working through all, is the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit; and that the church should aim first and always to bring the soul of the sinner into vital contact with that Spirit. Whether the material shall be exalted at the expense of the spiritual depends upon the strength and quality of the spiritual. Religion pure and undefiled is not that which remains intact only so long as it is not in contact with the world; but it is that which keeps unspotted in the dust and din of life. Its virtue depends not upon the coddling of the nunnery, nor upon the sanctity of ecclesiastical surroundings. It calls nothing common or unclean which concerns the betterment of humanity; but, if need be, it can shake the walls of Jericho with a ram's horn, open blind eyes with clay, and use the waters of the turbid Jordan to cleanse and cure. If that which was designed to be the only moral antiseptic in a world of sinners has by contact with material things so lost its distinguishing qualities as to be known only by its original trade-mark, then indeed it is good for nothing but to be cast forth and trodden under foot of man. He is a weak Christian who cannot eat and

drink to the glory of God, but who perforce through these material appetites becomes a glutton or a drunkard. That is a weak church, a weak Christianity, which cannot sanctify a secular method to a spiritual end without itself becoming secularized in the attempt. Such a Christianity can hardly hope to influence the everyday life of this busy age, nor can it hope to possess and transform the world.

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ONE ASPECT OF SPENSER'S "FAERIE QUEENE."

I.

It is very nearly three hundred years since the first three books of Spenser's "Faerie Queene" were published at London.

Up to that time the literature of England had been rather a promise than a performance. At the beginning of the last decade of the sixteenth century, England, flushed with the glories of her triumph over the Spanish Armada, and comparatively at peace with herself, occupied an assured and honorable place among the nations of Europe. But as yet England had failed to assert herself in the domain of literature and the arts. She had humbled the pride of Spain, but she still sat as a learner at the feet of the great poets of Italy.

A factor in continental politics, in all the centuries of gradual intellectual growth England had produced few literary works of more than insular importance. Two hundred years before the great Elizabethans, Chaucer stands as a witness to the temper and capability of the English mind, but these two hundred years were well-nigh completed before the promise of Chaucer was fulfilled. In the year 1590, when the first installment of the "Faerie Queene" was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company at London, England was on the verge of an unrivaled period in the growth of her literature. Little as she had done heretofore, the next quarter of a century was to witness the production of works which would entitle the English to rank with the greatest of world-literatures, for the hour of Shakespeare and Bacon and Hooker had fully come. The "Faerie Queene" stands at the very entrance, in point of time, to this imaginative and creative

epoch. The impress of the passionate and aspiring genius of Marlowe was yet fresh upon the drama, and Shakespeare was but just beginning to deliver his message to the world. Closely related as the "*Faerie Queene*" is in point of time to this great awakening of a great literature, born as it is of the same mighty mother, it is not the closeness of its affinity to the intellectual temper of its time and country which impresses us. Viewed as a whole, the great romantic poem of England stands rather in striking isolation apart from the splendid literature to which it belongs. It is separated from the body of English poetry, not merely by the unparalleled magnitude of its unfulfilled design, not merely by the nature of its subject, the unequalled flow of its verse, or by any of the more or less superficial features which readily suggest themselves. Beyond all these there is a difference more vital if less tangible; it is a difference in essence, in tone, in the very atmosphere about the work pervading the whole.

It is hard to confine this subtle difference within the set terms of a definition, but the essential point of contrast between Spenser and the dominant tone of the greatest English poets lies in his aloofness from the ordinary doings and concerns of men, in his lack of a catholic sympathy with the varied phases of human life, in the glamour of unreality, the delight in passing sensation, which are most fully exemplified in his "*Faerie Queene*." This distinctive note is struck at the very beginning of the poem. In the first canto we are led out of the familiar sunshine, and as we read, the world we know seems softly to recede and slip away from our grasp.

"With Pleasure forward led" we take refuge from the tempest without in a strange forest of fantasy. Involved in its twilight labyrinths "of many paths and many turnings seen," we cannot find the way that will lead us back into the vulgar daylight, but

"Wander too and fro in waies unknowne."

An ingenious and plausible commentator might almost persuade us that the line just quoted was intended to express the essential *motif* of the "*Faerie Queene*." What is it but a "wandering to and fro in wayes unknown"? Chaucer's jolly company of pilgrims journey along the common highway to a definite place and with a definite purpose; Spenser's air-drawn creations wander;—they appear and disappear in the pleasant tangle of "waies unknown." The instinct of more than one critic has already contrasted Chaucer and Spenser, that we may understand them better by placing them in opposition. The very thought of

Chaucer helps us to define the subtle nature of that quality which relegates the "*Faerie Queene*" to a place by itself. Chaucer dwells in the honest, healthy sunlight of substantial England; in the land of roast-beef and broad fun and downright common sense.

Born more than two hundred years before his great successor, Chaucer is nevertheless closer to us by the power of a strong living personality. Shrewd, kindly, portly, good-humored, wholesome, he notes with one quick glance of those keen, twinkling eyes everything about our dress and many things about our souls. His hearty, tender, human sympathy overflows all obstructions of time and circumstance, refusing to be chilled by centuries or altered by change.

It is wellnigh impossible to enter into the same terms of human fellowship with Spenser. It is not that we are in ignorance of the outward events of his life; we know, indeed, more of him than of some other men whose personality is less elusive; the vagueness and remoteness of Spenser seem to be attributable rather to the lack of a strong, living, human sympathy in the man — to that tendency to soften and transform bald facts by enveloping them in the tinted clouds of allegory, which, whatever its professed purpose, is one of the strongest characteristics of his "*Faerie Queene*." Surely Alexander Smith meant to hint this quality of Spenser's work when he wrote of him with exquisite suggestiveness: "Search ever so diligently, you will not find an English daisy in all his enchanted forests."

II.

If we are impressed at the outset with this broad dissimilarity of the "*Faerie Queene*" to the genius of English poetry, a closer consideration reveals to us an incongruity even more notable and more pronounced. The "*Faerie Queene*" seems strikingly at variance with a controlling characteristic in the mental attitude of Spenser's time.

When Spenser's masterpiece was given to the world, the Elizabethan drama had passed its period of experimental probation, and was fairly entered upon the richest era of its development. Marlowe had given the English tragic drama its form, and Shakespeare was just taking up the task that his great forerunner had begun. The life of man on earth was then the supreme fact for men. The fresh spiritual and intellectual impulse of the Renaissance had newly touched the life of England, and the latent and

hitherto unsuspected possibilities of man's earth, man's nature, man's life, stood suddenly revealed. Men were swept by a rush of new sensations, quickened by the sudden knowledge of opportunity; they were strong with a young strength.

"What a piece of work is man" is the prelude to Hamlet's tribute to the greatness of humanity, while the utter numbness of his enjoyment of life is summed up in the reflection that even man delights him not. It was the great drama of man's life in its depths and heights, its interminable contradictions, its burden, and its mystery, that a crowd of young London playwrights were beginning to portray with a fidelity, a power—a poetry and a passion unmatched in the history of men. Spenser himself turns momentarily to the drama, the natural form of expression in his age. Ten years before the publication of the "*Faerie Queene*" he writes nine comedies after the Italian model, and submits them, together with the beginning of his great poem, to the criticism of his friend Gabriel Harvey. We thus see him, with his career before him, standing irresolute at the dividing ways. He takes one step on the path which the greatest poets of his time were taking as by instinct; he is assured by Harvey that his plays are better than his poem, and yet he deliberately turns aside and chooses to tread the other path alone.

We may, perhaps, find reasons for this choice in the outward condition of Spenser's life. We may conjecture why it was that, with his life before him, the refined and scholarly young college graduate, of good birth, of gentle breeding, of dreamy and sensitive nature, did not cast in his lot with the riotous and lawless set of young Bohemians that were moulding the English drama. We can conjecture why the friend of Sidney should not have chosen to become a playwright, but have preferred a more gentlemanly way to advancement, a powerful patron, and the hanging on princes' favors. It may not surprise us, when all things are considered, that Spenser's genius should have elected to express itself through a poem undramatic in form in the midst of a great dramatic period; but we cannot so easily explain the fact that in this poem the vivid reproduction of human life, the strong grasp of fact, which were the marked features of contemporary poetry, are so conspicuously lacking. Our surprise is heightened at Spenser's failure in this respect when we remember the avowed object of his poem. The "general end" of the poem is didactic; it is designed to fashion a gentleman. This is to be done by depicting, in a "darke conceit," the conflict of human nature with

the temptations and evils which assail it from within and from without; by showing the triumph of good over evil, by contrasting the deformity of sin with the beauty of holiness. It aims, in fine, to be the portrayal, in the interests of virtue, of that individual warfare which is the inheritance of every generation. It is only necessary to recall the purpose of the "Faerie Queene" to realize how serious are its shortcomings as a didactic poem, intended to deal with the stress of human temptation.

That the "Faerie Queene" is a great poem should not prevent us from clearly perceiving wherein its greatness lies.

We should realize that its design demanded, first of all, just that intensity of sympathy with the complex and mixed nature of men and women, just that large natural fidelity, that infinite tenderness, that peculiar tolerance that comes with a genial sense of humor, which Chaucer and Shakespeare possess, and in which Spenser falls short.

That Spenser achieved a phenomenal success by a magic all his own should not blind us to the fact that it is attained largely at the expense of the direct object of his poem. He essays to show us the warfare of men and women with sin, but he presents to us not men and women at all, but embodied qualities. The truth of this assertion must be felt; it cannot be argued here.

But take in illustration one of the most beautiful and familiar incidents in the poem, the story of Una and the Lion. It is made difficult for us to think of Una as a creature of earth. The moment, indeed, we cease to think of her as a glorious vision, an exquisite type, we positively fail to do justice to the peculiar beauty of her story. We begin to reflect, in spite of our better instincts, that Una is not startled into any woman's demonstrations of fear by the sudden appearance of the lion. She stands, indeed, "dreading death," while the beast licks her hands and feet, but soon recovers herself sufficiently to moralize with some metaphorical elaboration. One feels, of course, that such criticism is essentially Philistine. It is a desecration, because it is based on the mistake of applying every-day standards to something which is beyond them. It is only by regarding it as the loveliest of waking dreams, untroubled by the narrow limitations of fact, that the "Faerie Queene" can be fully enjoyed. If any one is skeptical about its pervading unfaithfulness to things as they are, let him ponder on that passage in the tenth canto of the sixth book, which describes the encounter of Sir Calidon with the tiger. Let him note that, unlike earthly tigers, the beast does

not spring on his prey, but runs at Pastorella; let him note the convenient deliberateness of the whole proceeding—and the truly astonishing feat of Calidon in felling the tiger senseless to the ground with a shepherd's crook. In spite, then, of Professor Dowden's able presentation of a contrary view, I cannot but feel that the characteristic unreality of the "Faerie Queene" extends to the personages of the poem; that Spenser has called up by his spell brave knights, rare types of feminine virtue, or monsters of wickedness, but that the soil of this sordid, fighting world is not on them; that they are not commonplace and contradictory creatures as we are; that they do not "smell of mortality."

Would we learn the lesson that Spenser sets himself to teach, we must learn it in a sterner and a stronger school; we must turn to the turbid tide of humanity in the pages of Shakespeare and his fellows, and sin and suffer and question with them.

Even Milton, who, in some moods, we are disposed to think a more virile Spenser, born into a Puritan, and not a Renaissance England, even Milton has given us, within the very confines of the supernatural, the strong features of a great character. Satan, ruined archangel as he is, towers before us against the lurid background of hell with the sharpness of outline of a positive personality. The god-like defiance, the unconquerable will, the pride, the passion, the intellect, the nobility of the ruined angel fading into the degradation of the perfect devil, all these things are the elements of a great individual conception. Again, if we regard the purpose of the "Faerie Queene," it is apparent that the controlling note is battle. The poem is prompted by that very ancient conception of human life which has inspired the hero-myths of the world; it is born of essentially the same spirit as that which brought forth the Greek Hercules, or the Teutonic Beowulf. Spenser undertakes to show us the ideal hero; the man who deems it the proper business of life to fight a man's battle in this world, yet somehow the old Berserker grip, the set teeth, and the hard hitting are grievously lacking in the "Faerie Queene." Spenser's warriors are, indeed, sliced to pieces with a protracted elaboration of description; but it does not stir our blood, it seems like cutting a cloud. Notwithstanding its fighting subject, the poem is rather redolent of the æsthetic indolence of the South than alive with the fighting spirit of the Saxon. And as Spenser's hold on humanity is slight, as his battles lack what the old epic calls "the hand-grip of might," so his descriptions of nature do not in general possess that nameless fineness of touch which is the outcome of direct observation.

Take, for example, the following, a not unfavorable specimen of Spenser's manner:—

"It was a chosen plott of fertile land,
Emongst wide waves sett, like a little nest,
As if it had, by natures cunning hand
Bene choycely pickèd out from all the rest,
And laid forth for ensample of the best:
No daintie flowre or herbe that growes on grownd,
No arborett with painted blossomes drest
And smelling sweete, but there it might be fownd,
To bud out faire, and her sweete smels throwe al arownd.

"No tree, whose braunches did not bravely spring;
No braunch, whereon a fine bird did not sitt.
No bird, but did her shrill notes sweetely sing;
No song, but did containe a lovely ditt."

Can anything be more consistently artificial? There is not one breath of nature in this plot, picked out and arranged as a sample, from the "painted" blossoms to the fine birds disposed with mechanical and unnatural regularity, one singing on each branch. If any one will take the trouble to examine the numerous descriptions of morning in the "*Faerie Queene*," he will find that Spenser is generally satisfied with repeating the stilted and conventional phrases of a pseudo-classicism. It is surely hard to find the breath of the dawn in such lines as these:—

"At last, the golden oriental gate
Of greatest heaven gan to open fayre;
An Phœbus, fresh as brydegrome to his mate,
Came dauncing forth, shaking his deawie hayre;
And hurld his glistring beams through gloomy ayre."

One needs but to compare this with the dawn that overtakes the lingering lovers in *Romeo and Juliet*, the lark's song in the quiet, the brightening streaks of light that lace the parting clouds in the east, to feel its inherent lack of truth. Nor can I think that this defect of Spenser's results from the ideal character of his subject.

The greatest poet of the supernatural is also distinguished for his absolute faithfulness to nature:—

"L'alba vinceva l'ora mattutina
Che fugia innanzi, sì che di lontano
Conobbi il tremolar della marina."¹

¹ Now 'gan the vanquished matin hour to flee;
And seen from far, as onward came the day
I recognized the trembling of the sea.

Wright's trans., *Purg. I.*

Here Dante makes the scene live again in our imagination, with a few unerring touches. The words have that peculiar virtue of suggestiveness, they carry the whole atmosphere with them, and we see again the far-off stretch of sea sparkling and trembling in the growing light of the dawn.

Spenser's descriptions of nature often consist of a labored catalogue of objects. In one place he is at great pains to tell us the names of the different trees in a forest; in another a stanza or more is occupied with the enumeration of different kinds of flowers, but it is unprofitable work; the poet who has penetrated into the life of nature and caught her secret, flashes her spirit on us in one inspired phrase.

It would be interesting to pursue this inquiry and compare Spenser's attitude towards nature with that of other great poets, but enough has been said to illustrate the thought that in the "Faerie Queene" we find little of that inspired carefulness of observation, that intimate delight in nature, which is so conspicuous in English poetry. We find that it is no more true to nature than to man.

Our reflections, so far, converge towards one conclusion. Much of the peculiar charm of the "Faerie Queene" resides in that dreamy unreality which separates it from the greatest English poetry of its time.

In the dim and visionary lights of its enchanted forest, the sharp and uncompromising reality of things seen in the common daylight is softened and refined into a strange and ethereal delusion. We have in the "Faerie Queene" neither the sweat and the travail of struggling humanity, nor the living presence of that other world which is the serene background of human life. We are constrained to follow Hazlitt when he says of Spenser in a sudden flash of insight: "The love of beauty, however, and not of truth is the moving principle of his mind; and he is guided in his fantastic delineations by no rule but by the impulse of an inexhaustible imagination. He luxuriates equally in scenes of Eastern magnificence, or the still solitude of the Hermit's cell; in the extremes of sensuality or refinement."¹

III.

We must call to our help in the attempt to understand the individuality of tone in the "Faerie Queene" the circumstances and surroundings under which it was written, and, so far as we

¹ *Lectures on the English Poets, Chaucer and Spenser.*

can conceive of him, the man himself who wrote it. The "Faerie Queene" is the work of an exile; of a poet who had been forced, in the flower of his genius, to take part in the relentless and bloody attempt to reduce a turbulent province to subordination. Too little emphasis has been given to this residence of Spenser in the midst of rebellious, sixteenth-century Ireland, during the entire period of his greatest poetical productiveness. For two years, from 1580 to 1582, he is actively engaged at Dublin as secretary to Lord Grey, the new deputy to Ireland.

During the six years following, we find him still at Dublin, having purchased the position of "Clark of the Court of Chancery or Registrar of Chancery for the Faculties" from one "Lodowick Bryskett," who wished to "withdraw to the quietness of study."

In about 1589 he retires to the Castle of Kilcolman, in the county of Cork, just presented to him from the forfeited estate of the Earl of Desmond, and seriously enters upon the writing of his long-projected "Faerie Queene." Let us try to come close to the life of this long dead Edmund Spenser, and understand its relation to his work. His is not an exile like that of Dante, where the terrible secret longing and wrath of the man smouldered in him "until the fire kindled and he spake with his tongue;" it is the forlorn, commonplace exclusion of one of the rarest spirits of England from a living fellowship with the gathering greatness of his time. When Sidney fell at Zutphen, Spenser was poring over court records at Dublin; when England was on fire with the news that the shattered ships of the Armada were driven northward on the rocks of the Hebrides, Spenser looked out through the windows of Kilcolman across the lonely places of colonial Ireland. He is stranded, put aside, while the strong, full current of that adventurous time sweeps on without him. Oft-quoted allusions in his poems reflect only too truly how Spenser's spirit chafed under his surroundings. To him, Ireland is "salvage soil,"

"Which being by long wars left almost waste
With brutish barbarism is overspread."

He speaks of

"My lucklesse lot
That banisht had my selfe, like wight forlore,
Into that waste, where I was quite forgot."

After nine years of this he tries vainly to escape. He bends his lofty nature to become a suitor at the court of a queen as capricious as she was great. Disappointed and forced back again

to his solitary Kilcolman, he pours out his pent-up indignation and contempt in that famous passage in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, which comes to us to-day in the unblurred freshness of a self-revelation:—

"Full little knowest thou, that hast not tride,
What hell it is, in suing long to bide :
To loose good dayes, that might be better spent ;
To wast long nights in pensive discontent ;
To speed today, to be put back tomorrow ;
To feed on hope, to pine with feare and sorrow ;
To have thy Princes grace, yet want her Peeres ;
To have thy asking, yet waite manie yeeres ;
To fret thy soule with crosses and with cares ;
To eate thy heart through comfortlesse dispaire ;
To fawne, to crowche, to waite, to ride, to ronne,
To spend, to give, to want, to be undonne.
Unhappie wight, borne to desastrous end,
That doth his life in so long tendance spend !"

We are hushed and awed, as in these words this man's soul seems to lie naked before us.

Our instincts tell us that it has taken a deep inward experience to wring such a strong and bitter cry from the lips of the stately and abstracted Spenser. We may conjecture how deeply his Irish banishment had entered into his life from this glimpse of the central fire of that seemingly serene nature, when, after nine years of service, he puts his future to the test and fails. What manner of man was it that was thus isolated in the cruelty, vulgarity, and wretchedness of a disaffected, disorganized society?

It was a man who, possessing much of the purity and high-mindedness of the growing spirit of Puritanism, had nevertheless that ungovernable susceptibility to outward beauty which marked the Italians of the Renaissance.

It was a man who delighted in the lofty idealism of Plato, who saw in Sidney and Raleigh and Lord Grey the very spirit of chivalry alive in the flesh; yet surely it was a man who lacked that breadth of humanity, that ready sympathy for the weakness and shortcomings and stupidity of commonplace men and women, that longing over the many who are unheroic in action and unlovely in aspect, which we call charity. What is to become of such a nature, met at almost every point by Irish brawls and mutinies, by ugly and prosaic squalor? It turns inward on itself. Is it any wonder that the idealist becomes more abstractedly ideal? That he lifts the wrangles and outbreaks of Irish rebels into the serene heights of his spiritual warfare? Is it any wonder that a

man, hedged about by such an uncongenial atmosphere, of sensitive, impressionable nature so delicately poised as to be swayed by every suggestion of beauty, should set his whole soul to dreams, should lose his balance of nature by a too complete surrender to the alien charm of Italy? Spenser's lofty, severe, but exquisitely responsive spirit — isolated as it is — is overwhelmed, drenched, bewildered by the warm flow of Italian beauty. He steepes himself in the richness, the color, the languid beauty of Ariosto and of Tasso; he cannot often touch the shore for the pure delight of sporting in the waves. His greatest poem is hence conspicuously un-English, through it one phase of the Italian Renaissance finds its completest expression in our tongue; the soft Southern sensuous delight of eye and ear flow through his verse into everyday, out-of-doors England. The spirit of Italy is, indeed, tempered and modified by the spirit of England. The pure, high soul of Spenser is truly English in his hatred of wrong-doing, impurity, injustice; he honestly proposes to himself a great moral purpose for his poem.

There are trumpet notes in the "Faerie Queene" that startle us in the midst of the flow of its soft music with a resonance almost Miltonic. But it is true, nevertheless, that the tone of the poem, as a whole, is relaxing and deliciously enervating, rather than bracing and stimulating; that, notwithstanding its ethical purpose, the magic of Italy has prevailed, on the whole, over the Puritanism of England. The "Faerie Queene" is more Pagan than Puritan, it has more of Rubens than of Plato. Spenser escapes from the bower of bliss with as much difficulty as his own Sir Guyon; and, as some one has pointed out, the furious iconoclasm with which he has described its demolition shows how fully he felt its seductive power. He staggers under the shock of the strange young force that has come out of Italy; possessing but little hold on life to counterbalance it, cut off from wholesome contact with the England of his time; in his remoteness he fails to rise up in the integrity of his own genius; he is rather submerged as by a great tide. He pours out in his poem all the first ferment of new impressions and sensations, seething and unsettled, and his soul lives to-day in the "Faerie Queene."

It was not in such a fashion that the genius of Shakespeare was wont to deal with the influence that streamed from Italy into Elizabethan England; he dominated his materials. Idealist as he is in the highest sense, Shakespeare is too close to life to lose his intense fidelity to the truth of things; even in the "Midsummer

Night's Dream" we have Bottom the Weaver. This sincerity, this homeliness, this shrewdness of observation and truth, is inbred in Englishmen; it is part of the national genius, of the Teutonic inheritance, but not one of these qualities can be truly applied to the "Faerie Queene." It is when we contrast the lives of these two great poets, Spenser and Shakespeare, that stand so close together in time and so eternally separated in the nature of their work; it is when we think of the one, with his genial, intimate human sympathy, walking the streets and haunting the crowded theatres of London, a part of that rich, full, abundant life that once beat high in Elizabethan England, and then let our fancy travel back across the channel to the other in his loneliness and his dreams, it is only then that we can understand the "Faerie Queene." We can dimly understand why at times we are reminded in our reading of the poem of Tennyson's

"Soul possessed of many gifts
That did love beauty only."

For beautiful as the far-off music of this dream may be, we long at the last for reality, for nature, for man. Dwellers in a "lordly pleasure-house," where all things are gathered to satiate the mind and the senses, at the last we

"hear the dully sound
Of human footsteps fall."

We leave our ideal tower in utter weariness to "build us a cottage in the vale." Some critics have, indeed, asserted that there is in Spenser's poem that highest of all conceptions of beauty, that conception which sees in it a means and not an end, which regards it as the cherished handmaid of the something not wholly revealed.

Spenser's master, Plato, has given us in the "Banquet" this high idea of the eternal spirit of Beauty residing apart from all its visible manifestations, and the same lofty conception has been developed in Plotinus and the neo-platonists. Does Spenser show that highest conception of the function of art which holds that it is the noblest office of all artistic beauty to send our souls unsatisfied through and beyond it to its unseen source, even to Him who has given us beauty as a message and a promise? We must judge Spenser in this, not by what we may deem his theoretical views on the matter, but by the effect his poem actually produces upon us. Taking the "Faerie Queene" as it stands, I cannot find in it this suggestiveness of the Divine. It is not instinct, as some poems

are, with the "something beyond"; it does not stir in us that holy dissatisfaction by its hints and glimpses of "worlds not realized"; its beauty is rather that of Renaissance Italy sufficient unto itself. In spite of Milton's veneration for Spenser as a teacher, he lacks this trait of the world's great helpers, great guides.

He does not uplift and inspire us by transfusing this daily life and this earth of ours with the ineffable light of a sacred meaning and purpose; he escapes from this life and this earth altogether. In a splendid passage on the nature of the highest poet Victor Hugo says:—

"Let him have wings for the infinite, provided he has feet for the earth, and that after having been seen flying he is found walking. . . . To be altogether beyond man, that is not to be. Show me thy foot, genius, and let me see if, like myself, thou hast earthly dust on thy heel. If thou hast none of that dust, thou hast never walked in my pathway, thou dost not know me and I do not know thee."

IV.

It has been my province to dwell only on one aspect of the "Faerie Queene" to the exclusion of all others. It is almost presumptuous, as well as unnecessary, to praise again those rare qualities which justly give it its exalted place among the glories of a great literature. Great poems, like great mountains, may be approached from many sides. It were a pleasant task to linger over the gliding flow, the full and rounded music of its verse; over the charm of its magical atmosphere which changes and refines this sordid earth like that strange light which transforms at sunset the region of the Nile.

As I write these last words the wonderful greatness of the "Faerie Queene" impresses itself upon me afresh. How ablaze it is in its magnificent pageantry of light and color; how finely managed are the low tones of its sombre scenes! What a profuse poetic nature is poured out in it; what a spiritual beauty touches it in places with the brief gleam of a far-off radiance like the rare coming of angels! This splendid creation of Spenser's prodigal imagination lights up as with the red glow of some southern sunset the chill gray daylight of sober England. It has not been my purpose to do more than hint at other aspects of Spenser's masterpiece; we have been constrained to consider defects rather than excellences. Yet surely we honor Spenser best by a wise discrimination; by frankly acknowledging the shortcomings of his work we define for ourselves its peculiar and

unchanging charm. We appreciate the individual note of the "Faerie Queene" by thinking of Spenser at Kilcolman, by realizing that the brutality of Ireland and the beauty of Italy conspired to set it apart, an alien to the spirit of English literature in its time, and in all time, the one great Romantic poem of Teutonic England.

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THE ABERRATIONS OF DEMOCRACY.

THE fact that Government by the People is swiftly extending its sway over the civilized world is the salient fact of modern history. In Great Britain and her dependencies the democratic principle has made rapid progress. Within the memories of those who are still young, England has several times reduced the property qualification of her voters, each time admitting some hundreds of thousands to the franchise, so that almost all householders or rent-payers now possess the suffrage. In France the suffrage is universal. Louis Napoleon extended that boon to the citizens, though he took good care that it should not invest them with any great amount of actual power. Under the Republic it means vastly more, and France possesses now a government of the people. What they will do with it is yet to be determined. In Germany, too, the Imperial Diet is chosen by universal suffrage. Every native-born German who has reached the age of twenty-five can vote in his native province for representatives in the Reichstag. Of course the large reserves of power to the emperor and his chancellor, and to the Bundesrath, make Germany something quite unlike a pure democracy. Nevertheless, the whole people have some large share in the government of the country. In Italy, native or naturalized Italians twenty-five years of age, who pay a tax of about eight dollars and can read and write, are voters; the suffrage is limited, but there is no class limitation, — no obstacle which industry and thrift may not easily overcome. In Spain, the lower house of the national legislature is elected by the people; the electors are those who have paid for five years a land tax of about five dollars, or for two years an industrial tax of about ten dollars. These facts show to what an extent political privilege is already in the hands of the European peoples.

Forty years ago the masses of the people had little to say about the making of the laws under which they lived; to-day, in most of the great nations of Europe, their voice is distinctly audible, and every decade adds to its authority. The philosopher Bluntschli, who does not believe in democracy, declares that "an impartial analysis of the conditions of modern Europe leads to this result, that the strength of the people, and their political participation in the state, has sensibly increased, and is still on the increase."

What are the causes of this remarkable phenomenon? Many explanations are given:—

1. "The entire mental development of the time," says Bluntschli, "has a democratic character. The action of common schools has never been greater. Popular literature was never more disseminated than at present." This is a concomitant of democracy; is it a cause or an effect? The great improvement in the common schools of Great Britain followed the extension of the suffrage, and was, confessedly, a consequence rather than a cause. "We have given these people the suffrage," said the statesmen of England; "now we must see that they are fitted to exercise it." In France, also, the extension of the suffrage certainly preceded the chief improvements in popular education.

2. Economic conditions, it is said, also favor the growth of democracy. To some extent this is true. The abolition of slavery and serfdom in Europe, and the introduction of a system of free contract between the employed and the employer, have been closely connected with the growth of political democracy. But if we would go to the bottom of this question, we must try to find out what power it was that broke the shackles of the slave and led the laborer up the path to free contract. Nor would it be quite true to say that improved economic conditions have been the immediate cause of the extension of the suffrage in modern times. That would be reading history backward. It was not improved economic conditions that planted democracy in New England. The agitation for the extension of the franchise in Old England began in the very darkest day of the history of English labor; began when degradation and starvation were the working-man's constant portion. The uprising of the lower classes that culminated in the Chartist movement was an attempt to gain political power in the hope of improving their economic conditions. They thought that the suffrage would be a weapon with which they could compel their masters to pay them better wages.

"Chartism," said one of their leaders, in a great meeting on Kensall Moor, "is no mere political question; it is a knife-and-fork question: the charter for us means good lodging, good eating and drinking, good wages, and short hours of labor."¹

3. Various recondite and metaphysical causes are also assigned to this phenomenon; I will not estimate their efficiency. Whatever may be said of these deeper currents of causation, it seems to me that the growth of democracy in the Old World is due in large measure to historical rather than to intellectual or economical causes; and that chief among these is the existence of democracy in the New World. The European peoples have had an object-lesson before their eyes for many years, and they have been studying it well. The one capital offense charged against America by the conservatives of Europe is, says Mr. Lowell, "that we are infecting the Old World with what seems to be thought the entirely new disease of democracy." And while it is true, as he says, that the germs of this disease have been fermenting in the blood of Europe for a long time, yet the active cause in developing its recent symptoms is the splendid growth of the American republic. "There can be no doubt," says Mr. Lowell, "that the spectacle of a great and prosperous democracy on the other side of the sea must react powerfully on the aspirations and political theories of men in the Old World who do not find things to their mind." The French Revolution of 1789 was a distinct and thunderous echo of the American Revolution of 1776. Ever since that day, every popular movement has drawn much of its inspiration from the history of this country. What the people of Europe might have done without this incitement I will not try to tell; doubtless efforts would have been made to throw off the yoke of prescription and grasp political power; but these efforts would have been far less hopeful and resolute if America had not continually appealed to them.

America is the leader in the march of the modern nations toward democracy. But who leads the leader? Why is America a democracy, and not an oligarchy, or an aristocracy, or a monarchy? The founders of this nation had many models before them: how did they happen to select this one? Was it a fortunate throw of the dice? Was it the outcome of whim or prejudice? No; it was a result as natural as any other product of historical evolution. The men in the cabin of the Mayflower established a democratic government, because they were thoroughly imbued

¹ Hyndman's *Socialism in England*, p. 211.

with Christian principles, and because they meant to apply their Christianity to every part of the business of life. They got their Christianity directly from the New Testament, not from the decretals of any ecclesiastical establishment; and that pure doctrine of Christ, left to work itself out without obstruction in this new society, produced a democratic form of government.

"Every religion," says De Tocqueville, "is to be found in juxtaposition to a political opinion which is connected with it by affinity. If the human mind be left to follow its own bent, it will regulate the temporal and spiritual institutions of society upon one uniform principle; and man will endeavor, if I may use the expression, to harmonize the state in which he lives on earth with the state which he believes to await him in heaven. The greatest part of America was peopled by men who, after having shaken off the authority of the Pope, acknowledged no other religious supremacy; they brought with them into the New World a form of Christianity which I cannot better describe than by calling it a democratic and republican religion. This sect contributed powerfully to the establishment of a democracy and a republic; and from the earliest settlement of the emigrants, politics and religion contracted an alliance which has never been dissolved."¹

This last sentence is somewhat misleading. In the same chapter De Tocqueville notes and commends the complete separation of church and state in this country; what he means is that our democratic institutions have grown out of our religious ideas, as a plant grows from a seed. The logic of Christianity is democracy; and Christianity had a chance, on this free soil, to work itself out logically.

De Tocqueville is not alone in the belief that the natural outcome of Christianity is democracy. Another French philosopher, Henri Beaudrillart, places first among the causes which have produced the democratic régime, "the influence of Christianity upon ideas and manners. This is the foundation of Christianity, — a free, responsible soul, fallen, it is true, but in a condition to raise itself. What duty after this is there greater than to respect this responsibility in one's self and in others, and to develop the moral nature in others and in ourselves? All the children of God are brothers; all the sons of men are equal in their fall; all the members of Christ are equal in their redemption. . . . The belief in responsible liberty, in a common redemption, in equality before

¹ *Democracy in America*, chap. xvii.

God, came into existence with Christianity itself." And although, as this writer points out, a state of conquest and violence long retarded the civil effects of Christianity, nevertheless it steadily made its way; it sapped the foundations of slavery; it lightened the burdens of the oppressed; it prepared the way for the democratic régime. At last its appointed time came. "Did not the ideas of equality and Christian brotherhood," demands this philosopher, "as applied to society, manifest themselves at the time of the foundation of the English colonies of America? Who, then, will deny that American democracy was born of Christianity?"¹

I have dwelt upon this point because it is the vital point. Our American democracy is a plant that grew from the seed of Christianity; the formative influence which shaped our institutions was not primarily economical nor philosophical, but religious.

"But if democracy is the child of Christianity," it may be answered, "then it would seem that Christianity would better be looking after her progeny. For certain it is that this heir of her divine patrimony does not always behave itself divinely. This people of ours, clothed with the great prerogative of self-government, — how far are they yet from the ideal of good government! How much there is of laxity, of dishonesty, of corruption in all our governmental operations! How dismal are many of the failures of our suffrage in the selection of representatives! The managers of our parties, the occupants of our offices, — are they the most capable and the most trustworthy men of the community? Bribery in elections is confessedly becoming more and more common. Office is largely considered, not as a trust, but as a perquisite; men spend large sums in securing office, and consider themselves justified in getting back their money, and something more, by a corrupt use of power. Men are chosen to our school boards, not ordinarily because they know something about education; to our police boards, not always because they can be trusted to enforce the laws; to our city councils, not commonly because they have any skill in municipal finance, but because they want these places as stepping-stones to something higher, and are willing to spend money and eat dirt in getting themselves elected. Thus it happens that certain classes of criminals, whose business is lucrative, and who can contribute liberally to the election funds, enjoy a practical immunity from the operations of the law. So, too, it comes about that great corporations, using their money

¹ Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political Science*, art. "Democracy."

freely to corrupt electors and legislators and judges, secure valuable franchises for nothing, and get the privilege of taxing the people *in perpetuo* for their own enrichment. Under such favoring legislation and such corrupt administration arises a vast plutocracy, luxurious, unscrupulous, insolent; and over against this a proletariat, steadily growing, of hundreds of thousands so poor that they are almost destitute of hope, and are ready to drop from the march of the toilers into the prison or the poorhouse, whichever may happen to come first. This separation of classes is due in part, no doubt, to economic causes, and in part to inherited depravities, but it is also due in part to the great privileges that our legislators, carelessly or corruptly, have bestowed on combinations of capital; and to the fact that our pushing democracy, intent on self-aggrandizement, have been unmindful of the weak and the wayward who walk by their side, and with whose welfare they are charged.

"Such," say our critics, "are some of the most obvious failures of the democratic régime on the side of law and social economy. Nor is it clear that its effects upon private morality are altogether salutary. Certainly it breeds irreverence. Respect for high character does not thrive among us; the doctrine that one man is as good as another destroys the basis of reverential feeling. Our children and youth are notoriously disrespectful to the aged, and even to their own parents; filial honor and obedience are decaying; parental authority is greatly enfeebled. There is scant reverence for God. This is the outcome of our democracy; and our democracy, you say, is the child of Christianity. Can it be a legitimate child?"

I have put the case of the critics and impugners of our democracy pretty strongly; perhaps they will accept the indictment as sufficiently sweeping. And what answer can we make to such charges? Doubtless we must allow that they contain too much truth. The defects and failures of our democratic institutions are neither to be denied nor ignored; and there are no people in the world so deeply concerned to know exactly what they are as we ourselves. Especially needful is it that we make this inquisition thorough, in view of the extremely favorable estimate of our national life which Mr. Bryce has lately offered us in his notable book. It is the noblest portrait of a nation ever drawn; it is only a little too ideal; some of the warts are not painted; and we must not be misled by the flattery, grateful though it may be.

In answer to the rather contemptuous query with which our

indictment closes, I venture to reply that our democracy surely is the legitimate child of Christianity, albeit it is, beyond a doubt, a somewhat wayward and unfilial child. It has not kept in the ways in which it was brought up. It has fallen into bad company. In its earlier years it made the acquaintance of a waif from over the sea whose influence was not wholesome. That was the French philosophy of which Rousseau was the representative. It was a specious and insinuating doctrine; our young democracy was charmed by it; you find the traces of its influence in the writings of several of the Revolutionary fathers. But it was fundamentally defective. Its talk was all of rights, never of duties. Its notion about government was that man made it; "its powers," so our "Declaration" phrases it, "are all derived from the consent of the governed." Men make government by entering into contract with one another; political rights all have this origin; that is just which they agree to make just; there is no Eternal Right over their heads to which they are all alike subject, or if there is, it is quite impossible for them to know its nature, or to receive its mandates; if man were good enough to know the will of God, Rousseau said, he would be so good that he would need no government. It is not, then, in the nature of man, but in the will of man, in his momentary choice, that government finds its origin. And since men, by a voluntary compact, become the architects of the temple of justice, it follows, of course, that what they have built they may pull down when they will, or alter it to suit themselves. It seems to follow, also, that any man, when he chooses, may withdraw from the combination; that social rights and obligations may be put on and off like garments. And if it does not follow that the minority, who oppose a law, may trample the law under their feet, it certainly follows that the minority may at any time cancel the contract by secession. Of course this is no part of the theory as promulgated; it is contrary to the reasonings of all the philosophers who have advocated the theory; but that is because their reasonings were illogical; because they did not follow their principles to their legitimate issues. Locke, as well as Rousseau, tried to show that "every man, by consenting with others to make one body politic under one government, puts himself under an obligation to submit to the determination of the majority, and to be concluded by it;" but that is not the logic of the situation. The power to enter into such a relation implies the power to come out of it; and if no term is named in the compact, then it may be dissolved at the

pleasure of any of the parties entering into it. It is precisely of the nature of a partnership at will, whose only bond is the mutual agreement of the partners. Bluntschli is exactly right when he says:—

“For practical politics this doctrine is in the highest degree dangerous, since it makes the State and its institutions the product of individual caprice, and declares it to be changeable according to the will of the individuals then living. It destroys the conception of public law, instigates the citizens to unconstitutional movements, and exposes the State to the uttermost insecurity and confusion. It is to be considered, therefore, a theory of anarchy rather than a political doctrine.”

It must not be supposed that this contract theory held undisputed sway in the counsels of our fathers; in truth, it was only a secondary influence; the strain of their philosophy was in a much more sober key; if it had not been, we should never have had any centennial anniversaries to celebrate. Rousseau's theories were logically worked out once; that was in Paris, between 1789 and 1795. The French Revolution, with its frightful phantasmagoria of fire and blood, was the natural fruit of this anarchic philosophy. Doubtless Rousseau's dogma was the very weapon chosen by Providence for the pulverization of that æonian “crust of custom” which history knows as the old régime; as social dynamite it served its purpose admirably; but let it be remembered that its only mission is to destroy. If we had had no other guide in the working out of our destiny than this crazy theory, our epitaph would have been written long ago. But the influence of this doctrine was felt in the early years of our national life; it found expression in the Declaration of Independence; the mind of Jefferson was completely possessed by it, and Jefferson had then, and has always had, much to do in shaping our political theories. “The will of the majority,” he said, “is the natural law of every society, and the only sure guardian of the rights of man.” There has been enough of this sort of nonsense in all our politics to make a great deal of mischief. Out of it has come much of the intense individualism that borders on anarchy. By tradition and by conviction we are a law-abiding people; in most of the greater matters we have maintained our loyalty to that ideal sovereignty which our flag symbolizes; but there has been and is in many smaller matters a constant disregard and defiance of law; large classes of our citizens habitually set at naught those statutes which do not coincide with their interests; and this kind

of lawlessness is undoubtedly increasing. Our officers of the law often refuse to enforce the law; the statute is a dead letter before the ink is dry with which it is printed. Sometimes the police authorities assemble and vote that they will respect one law and ignore another. They are supposed to be servants of the law, but they usurp the functions of the Legislature and the Supreme Court; they announce themselves censors and dictators. That this chronic lawlessness, which affects magistrates and people, is due, at least in part, to the development, in the public mind, of the germs of that poisonous theory of which we have been speaking, I cannot doubt. It is too evident that there are multitudes among us who have no notion of the sacredness of law; who set it aside with the utmost levity whenever it crosses their will. If you listen to the harangues of the beer-gardens, or if you read many of the newspapers of the country — especially those printed in other languages — you will get the impression that the one inalienable possession to which many of our citizens cling is their “personal liberty,” by which they mean their liberty to do precisely as they please; and that any law which interferes with that is to them no law. “Government,” they seem to argue, “derives all its just powers from the consent of the governed; whatever the government does without obtaining our consent we shall ignore or resist.”

That the aberrations of our democracy are due, thus, in part, to intellectual causes — to defective theories of government — is not to be denied. And it is plain that there is need of a good deal of elementary teaching along this line. If any one is disposed to say that mere political theories are of no practical consequence, let him reflect that we have just passed through a war which cost the country a million of lives and some billions of dollars, all on account of a mere political theory — the theory of state-sovereignty. However it may be in religion, it is evident that in politics it makes a tremendous difference what a man believes. There is no more malignant type of blood-poisoning than that which is suffered by the body politic under the influence of a false political philosophy. The “victorious analysis” of Jean Jacques, which atomizes human society, really lay at the foundation of the doctrine of secession. If any true conception of the solidarity of human society — of the organic life of the nation — had entered into the thought of the people, the war of the rebellion would never have been fought. It is time that “victorious analysis” were remanded to the laboratories where dynamite bombs

are manufactured, and that we introduce into our political thinking a little sober synthesis. Here is the truth, clearly stated by Hermann Lotze, of which our politics stand in deepest need: —

“If man could live his destined life in solitude, and if he entered only incidentally into social relations, then indeed no form of society which had grown up historically would be binding on him without his consent. But man has no power over the place and time of his birth, both of which involve his life from the first in a network of conditions that have grown up historically; he does not rise to the independence of which his nature allows without the assistance of others, who in their very work are protected by an historically established reign of law in society; his mental development would be a nullity if the same condition of society did not bring to him in countless ways the material of mental growth and aid him in making use of it. Thus, then, before he becomes a person having rights concerning which he can dispute, he is profoundly indebted to the institutions of society for the very development of his personality.”¹

Let the political philosophers of the sanctum and the stump meditate much on these words; peradventure it may dawn on them that something deeper than the momentary will of a fickle multitude is shaping the destinies of a nation like ours. It will be melancholy, indeed, if the review of our national life to which the centennial celebrations constrain us do not convince us of the existence of historical forces that steadily make their way in spite of “the will of the majority,” do not make us aware of the existence of laws which are not fixed by any contracts that we can make, but which we must obey or perish.

Another cause of the aberrations of our Democracy is much less recondite. It has been overwhelmed by the rush and pressure of material interests. The cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the word of the patriotic monitor as well as of the Christian preacher. Our young Democracy found himself with a vast continent on his hands to subdue and develop; a rich domain, with promises of wealth untold as the reward of industry and enterprise. Do we not know that the tempter whose name is Mammon has often taken him to the top of some exceeding high mountain and shown him the farms and mines and factories and shops and railroads that were yet to be, saying unto him, “All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.” It was a grievous temptation; we must

¹ *Microcosmus*, ii. 543.

not marvel greatly if he has sometimes yielded to it. Such opportunities for the multiplication of wealth were never before offered to a whole people; such a stimulus to the acquisitive instincts was never applied to the life of any nation. Our neighbors, who are often justly shocked and scandalized by the mercenariness of Americans, would do well to ask themselves whether, under the same circumstances, they would have behaved any more soberly. The material development of this country must needs have enlisted no small share of the energies of our people; if it has occupied a disproportionate place in their thoughts, leading them to neglect the duties of patriotism, and to permit the growth of unsocial forces, and the encroachment of the disorderly and criminal classes, that fact is not to be wondered at, much as it is to be deplored.

Doubtless this is one of the main sources of our weakness. Our failures in government — especially in municipal government — are due to the neglect of political duty on the part of intelligent and reputable citizens. This neglect is often charged upon educated men; but unless my observation is at fault, the mercantile and manufacturing classes are more blameworthy in this regard than the scholars and the teachers. The educated men of my acquaintance are in the habit of taking an active part in political affairs; it is the business men who are derelict, and their neglect is due partly to their absorption in their business, and partly to an unwillingness to risk their gains by antagonizing the dangerous classes. Nothing but a great quickening of the conscience of this class will save us from disaster. That this quickening will come, I have no doubt; but I fear that we shall wait, in many of our cities, to be taught the lesson of our political responsibility by raging mobs and blazing warehouses. We shall learn the lesson; it were well if we could learn it in a less expensive school. But if a good share of the wealth heaped up by our merchants in the neglect of their political duties should thus be wiped out, the solemn words of Mr. Lincoln, in reviewing the devastations of the war, will surely be recalled: "As was said three thousand years ago it must still be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

The poison of the French philosophy, the paralysis of our practical materialism, these will partly account for the aberrations of our democracy; but there have been other influences. Into the life of this nation has been poured from the beginning a steadily increasing stream of immigration. Many of the best elements of

our national life have thus been contributed ; but over against these gains the injuries and losses have been terrible. The material development of the nation has been hastened, no doubt, by immigration, but its moral and political development has been immensely retarded. So long ago as 1835 De Tocqueville wrote : "The American cities contain a multitude of Europeans who have been driven to the shores of the New World by their misfortunes or their misconduct ; and these men inoculate the United States with all our vices without bringing with them any of those interests which counteract their baneful influence." What this distinguished Frenchman saw to be true fifty years ago is far truer to-day. Every year a considerable company of thrifty, orderly people find a home upon our shores and begin soberly and peaceably to perform the duties of American citizens ; but every year also great cargoes of ignorance and filth and brutality and bigotry are dumped upon our wharves and speedily absorbed into the body politic. Most of these immigrants come from countries where their training has utterly unfitted them for self-government ; their attitude toward the powers that be has always been hostile ; the law has been to them a foe to be feared or a tyrant to be circumvented. We can very well understand the feeling of that Irishman of Mr. Lowell's story who, landing in New York, and asked what his politics were, inquired if there were a government there, and on being told that there was, retorted, "Thin I'm agin it!" It is natural for the Irishman to be in that frame of mind, but it is highly unfortunate for this Republic. And much the same is true of the ignorant German who comes from a land where the unsparing exactions of a strong military government have chafed and angered him, and whose notion about America is that it is a free country, — a country, that is, where every man is a law unto himself, and where "liberalism" implies a successful and insolent defiance of the laws of the land. It is well known, also, that the most turbulent and dangerous elements of the German population, driven out from that country by the police, have found a refuge upon our shores, where some of them have begun to plot anarchy before the scent of the steerage had departed from their garments.

How sorely our problem of government has been complicated by this admixture of alien and intractable elements needs not to be explained. These people are not fit for citizenship in a republic, nor can multitudes of them ever be fitted for it. A large share of our paupers and criminals come from this class ; in all

our prisons, our almshouses, our asylums, the proportion of these persons is enormously large. Of the bribable voters they constitute also a vastly disproportionate share. The occupations that are more or less lawless are recruited pretty largely from our immigrants. The saloon-keepers as a class are habitually and intentionally lawless; read over the voluminous list of the saloon-keepers in any city directory and you will see that the vast majority of them bear names that indicate their foreign origin.

What a demoralizing influence upon our politics must come from the introduction into our voting population of such a mass of ignorance and prejudice could easily be imagined if it were not well known. This is the kind of material with which the demagogue loves to work; the presence of these crude masses is what gives rise to the demagogue. Reason cannot reach them, but their antipathies, their passions, and their fears can be played upon, and the manipulator is always ready. They know little or nothing about American questions, but they bring their own hereditary hatreds along with them, and the feuds of races over the sea are fought over again in our politics. Who was not sickened by the realization, in the last presidential campaign, that the issue of the election might very likely be made to turn upon a successful appeal to such antipathies, which have no relation whatever to America? Let me say again, that there are large numbers of our citizens of foreign birth to whom these words do not apply; who are as intelligent, as orderly, as loyal to their adopted country as any of its native citizens; but the statistics of the criminal and dependent classes show how many there are among them of whom no such praise can be spoken. Is it greatly to be wondered at that our American Democracy, overloaded with all this undemocratic material, has come somewhat short of the hopes of its most sanguine prophets?

I have shown some reasons why the democracy that sprang from the faith of the founders has been perverted from its original type. We have not now, on this continent, the kind of democracy that is naturally developed out of Christian ideas; we had it once, but we have lost it, partly by our own fault, partly by misfortune; the kind of democracy that now prevails here is quite unlike that which gave the law to the thirteen colonies. In some particulars it may be better; in other and more important elements it is sadly inferior.

There is reason for the faith that a democracy planted on Christian principles and abiding in them will live while time en-

dures ; the gates of hell will not prevail against it ; but a democracy which departs from these principles has no sure foundation ; when the storms of sedition and anarchy come it will fall, and great will be the fall of it. Nor is there any safe course for us but to bring our democracy back to these foundations.

We cannot too quickly clear our minds of that eighteenth-century nonsense about society being the result of a compact. It is not from the consent of the governed that governments, whether democracies or despotisms, derive their just powers ; then only do they possess just powers when they study and reenact the eternal laws of God. Such laws there are, revealed in our own consciences, impressed upon the very structure of society itself. You can find out God's moral laws by studying human conduct and human history, just as you can find out his natural laws by studying nature. God has a way for societies, a way for nations ; let them find that way and follow it. Let them conform their laws to his law, and then obey them. It would be no more absurd for the farmers of this nation to assume that they could determine by a majority vote the best methods of raising wheat, than for the electors to imagine that they can determine by a majority vote the best methods of ruling the state. Those methods are to be found by patient study — not to be determined by counting noses. Doubtless what the majority determine to be the law must stand as law, and be respected until the majority is endowed with higher wisdom to repeal or modify it ; but the real validity and authority of these laws is derived not from the human wills that establish them, but from the Eternal Righteousness that enters into them, from the Eternal himself to whose will they are conformed. It is precisely in proportion as we succeed in understanding and reenacting his law that our constitutions and our statutes are armed with justice and with majesty.

When our laws are conceived of as having such an origin as this, then some sense of their sacredness must take possession of the minds of the people. And the one thing that this people needs, just now, is a new sense of the sacredness of law. Note these words of Montesquieu : " When, in a popular government, there is a suspension of the laws, as it can come only from the corruption of the Republic, the state is in danger." Under the shadow of that peril we sit every day. We have learned to think that we can play fast and loose with law ; enforce it when we will, ignore it when we will. It is largely because we have the notion that law is a creation of our own and that we can do as we

please with it. It is time that our theories were reformed. Just as science has no coherence, but becomes nonsense and jargon the moment you deny the uniformity of natural law, so society loses its form and becomes chaos and anarchy when the authority of the civil law is seriously impaired.

We must obey the laws ourselves, and we must make those who come to us from over the sea understand that they must obey them too. It is natural for them, in their reaction against the despotisms from which they have fled, to rush to the extreme of lawlessness. The one thing for them to learn, as soon as they step upon our soil, is that law in a republic is as sacred, as inflexible, as imperative as anywhere on the earth. If we can teach them this lesson, and by our own example of loyalty to law can enforce it upon them, we can trust to time and light, and the gentle influences of Christian civilization, to make good citizens of them, or, at any rate, of their children ; but on this point there must be no parleying. Those who are not willing to obey, religiously, the laws of this country must be warned against coming hither ; if any such are here already, the sooner they take themselves off the better for us and for them.

And yet when we insist, as we are bound to do, upon obedience to existing laws, we must exercise some discretion in the enactment of laws. Not every part of conduct can be brought under statutory regulation. The Christian ethics inculcates general principles and leaves the application of them largely to individual determination. Something of the same method must obtain in the legislation of a Christian democracy. If we insist that our laws must be obeyed, then we shall do well to proceed cautiously in the enactment of laws, framing only such as are likely to secure a prompt and general enforcement. That extravagant and ill-considered legislation has afforded our law-breakers some excuse for their lawlessness cannot be denied. While we repress their anarchy we must remove their excuses.

It is the deepest faith of every true American that the aberrations of our democracy can be corrected ; but it can only be done by frank and courageous criticism ; by seeing things as they are and calling them by their right names ; by sending our braggarts and our demagogues to the rear and summoning to the service of the state the men who have understanding of their time and of all times ; who can be trusted to lead their own nation and many nations following in the ways of well-ordered freedom.

Washington Gladden.

A DOCTRINAL TEST AS A CONDITION OF CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP.

NOT long ago a leading denominational journal, in an editorial entitled "Theological Tobogganning," traced very graphically the rapid descent of a certain church from the hill-top of orthodoxy to the dead level of nihilism, and intimated at the same time that this historical chute is a warning to "some of our pastors and some of our churches, who are dissatisfied with their creed-formulæ, to move a little carefully and slowly in their revision," lest they take the same fatal slide.

The warning is timely, doubtless; for some of our pastors and some of our churches *are* dissatisfied with their creed-formulæ, and are moving surely, if not slowly, towards their revision. During the last twenty years very many Congregational churches have revised their creeds, and almost invariably the process has been one of abbreviation and simplification; and however we may be inclined to interpret it, here is the fact, that there is a general movement of our churches in the direction of shorter and simpler creeds. How may the fact be accounted for? What does it mean that so many of our church creeds are going tobogganning? This is a matter of no little importance and of general interest.

The fact in question may be explained as the loosening of the churches' grasp upon their great doctrines — a gradual evolution, or dissolution, of the evangelical faith; in short, "Theological tobogganning." But the question which forced itself upon the writer in reading the editorial above referred to, was, Whether the historical instance cited as a warning is a fair type of the present movement in our churches; whether this tendency to the revision of creeds is in the same direction; whether there may not be a distinction between laxity and simplicity? If the true explanation is the one already suggested, there is, indeed, ground for serious alarm and solemn warning. But before accepting a conclusion so grave we ought to inquire, What are the motives which actuate the churches in their creed-revision? What are the real reasons back of the dissatisfaction with the old formulæ, and what are the ends in view of the new? I am loath to believe that this tendency toward simpler forms of admission to our churches — a tendency of unmistakable direction and of irresistible momentum — is indeed looseness in the holding of Christian doctrine, the more unwilling because the phenomena

may be accounted for, I am sure, in a more satisfactory way. What, then, is the explanation?

In the first place, it is found that there are serious practical difficulties in the use of a doctrinal statement as a test of membership, and that they are serious in proportion as it is complex and comprehensive.

(1) There are many immature Christians, whether children or not, yet "babes in Christ," whom the church gladly welcomes to its membership, — what church of Christ can afford to exclude a Christian disciple because intellectually immature or inferior? — and who cannot therefore have an intelligent apprehension of the creed to which they must publicly assent. To many thoughtful minds within and without the church this seems an empty form, if not something worse, and many conscientious men and women look upon it with serious misgiving. "When I united with the church I did not understand the creed at all — *and I knew I did n't*," was the confession of a young woman, in words which reveal the thoughts of many hearts. This difficulty, serious as it is, is not, however, an insurmountable one, because much more might be done, nay, ought to be done, to prepare young Christians for church-membership; and there is little excuse, save in the looseness of Congregational methods, for the remark made by a very intelligent, useful, and upright member of my church: "When I united with this church thirty-six years ago, I knew no more of its creed than I know about the Koran!" It is shameful, but it is doubtless true, that many intelligent members of our churches could say the same thing without much exaggeration.

When all has been done that might be done to remove the obstacle of ignorance, the remainder of the difficulty may of course be disposed of by some modifying clause, as, "This you believe in so far as you understand it," etc.

(2) But a practical difficulty of far more serious a nature is encountered when the candidate understands the creed well enough but cannot conscientiously accept some part of it. It is the Christian disciple who *thinks*, who stumbles over the creed at the door of the church. Of course he who does not think much about it has no difficulty whatever with the creed, no matter how profound it is! But the disciple who *thinks*, and who has doubts *because* he thinks, meets a formidable obstacle in the creed — formidable in proportion as it is long and he is conscientious. In such a case there are just two ways of dealing with the difficulty: either admit that it is insurmountable, and turn back, or else try

to get around it somehow. Most church committees will hesitate to reject the thoughtful, conscientious Christian on the ground of his intellectual difficulties, for such an one is often the stronger and more earnest Christian, and to reject him seems a great wrong. The pastor, then, will usually discover some way of evading the obstacle rather than to do the greater wrong, as it seems, of excluding the sincere Christian from Christian fellowship.

This, then, is the dilemma in which more than one church committee has found itself as it has stood, creed in hand, between the disciple and his Lord's table: Either deny fellowship to one who is undoubtedly a member of the body of Christ; or, *demand an act of insincerity on the very threshold of Christ's church, at the time of all others when a Christian should be most sincere.*

This leads us to another practical difficulty, closely akin to the one we have just considered, for it is the consequence of it: —

(3) In every congregation there are some good men and women who, though not members of the church, are genuine Christians, as in many tangible ways their lives bear witness. What pastor cannot name many such, for has he not preached to them and prayed for them and pleaded with them, and does he not yearn to see them come into the church and take the place that is theirs by Christ's invitation at His table? But in seeming disregard of all urgent reasons, and above all of their Lord's tender words, "This do in remembrance of me," they stand aloof. Why? Because the church expects of them before they enter its communion more than they can conscientiously give, namely, hearty assent to its creed; and therefore if they come to the Lord's table at all, it must be either at the cost of personal sincerity, or in discourteous disregard of distinctive usages of the church. Under these circumstances most persons choose to stay away, and thus a doctrinal test of membership in Christ's church sometimes becomes either a barrier or a stumbling-block between the sincere disciple and his rightful place at the Lord's table. And the pastor who attempts to enforce Christ's command, "This do in remembrance of me," finds himself working at a terrible disadvantage. But in attempting to remedy this difficulty he is met forthwith by another: —

(4) The problem is to frame a doctrinal test which shall omit no essential Christian doctrine and at the same time exclude no Christian believer. In obedience to the imperative sense of the obligation to administer the sacraments in the spirit of Christ, a church undertakes to simplify its creed, resolved that, like "The

way of Holiness," it shall be so plain that the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein. But very soon the question arises whether there is not a limit to the abbreviation and simplification of a doctrinal statement, and whether such a creed as is sought is anywhere to be found.¹ Any one who has attempted to *make* such a creed will, I feel confident, readily assent to the conclusion of another: —

"The problem to invent a creed which shall sum up the doctrines of grace and at the same time be a test of admission which shall contain every element of revealed truth and exclude no regenerate disciple is as incapable of solution as the quadrature of the circle."²

The result of the attempts to solve this problem abundantly justifies the statement; for what is the outcome of all this movement in the direction of simpler creeds? It has been very unfortunate — for the creeds. The process of abbreviation and simplification, not to say dismemberment and mutilation, to which the creeds of our New England churches have been subjected in obedience to the desire of welcoming every true Christian believer, has unquestionably been a very unfortunate one, so far as the creeds themselves, considered as scientific and comprehensive statements of doctrine, are concerned; and so, perhaps, unfortunate for the theological training of the churches. Whatever we may think of this movement in other aspects of it, we must admit that it has been "*theological tobogganning*" indeed!

We have found, however, these four practical difficulties incident to the principle that a doctrinal test should be a condition of membership in Christ's church, viz: the difficulties which a doctrinal statement presents, first, to those who because they cannot understand it cannot intelligently assent to it; and, second, to those who because they cannot believe it in some particulars cannot *conscientiously* assent to it; third, and consequently, to a large class of devout and sincere believers who, unless the distinctions of the visible church are disregarded, cannot be urged to come to their Lord's table so long as these difficulties remain; and, finally, the practical impossibility of providing for these difficulties consistently with the principle to which they are incident, for every one of them grows out of the principle that the true basis of Christian fellowship is doctrinal agreement. Perhaps any one of these

¹ For the fitness of the Apostles' Creed to this purpose, see an editorial in ANDOVER REVIEW, January, 1889, "Creeds and Church Membership."

² The Rev. Kingsley Twining in *New Englander*, vol. xxxii. p. 676.

four difficulties is enough in itself to account for the fact that "some of our pastors and some of our churches are dissatisfied with their creed-formulæ," and therefore renders unnecessary the alarming suggestion that the churches are in danger of slipping from the heights of orthodoxy; but I believe that it is not merely, nor indeed chiefly, because it is found that the principle involved in doctrinal tests of membership does not work altogether well in practice, that the churches are inclined to abandon it. There is a profounder explanation of the facts than that, and it is this: the churches are questioning whether the principle is right in itself, and are asking, "What is the true principle of Christian fellowship? What are the true conditions of church-membership? What right have we to impose conditions other than those laid down by Christ and his apostles? Shall we exclude any whom He would have received or they would have acknowledged?" Groping its way backward through the shadows of ecclesiasticism, the Church of Christ to-day is seeking the divinely ordained conditions of membership in the clear light of apostolic simplicity. What, then, are the conditions of membership in Christ's church? We turn to the apostles for answer. We cannot attempt at this time to give the answer in full, but it is so explicit that we need not mistake what it is. *

Upon that day which we may call the birthday of the church, when, after the descent of the Holy Spirit, the multitude to whom the leader of the apostles had been preaching, "were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter and the rest of the apostles, 'Brethren, what shall we do?' Peter said unto them, 'Repent ye and be baptized every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus.' . . . Then they that received his word were baptized." Peter's "word" was: "God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified." Baptism then was an act of simple confession of faith in Jesus as Lord and Christ, and *all who were thus baptized became, ipso facto, members of the Christian community, that is, the church*, for the church was constituted of the baptized, and every baptized one was a member of the church. Without going into the particulars of evidence, I must content myself with saying, furthermore, that the terms of admission thus instituted at the outset by Peter are reiterated by other apostles with remarkable unanimity, so that their answer to our question, What are the true conditions of Christian fellowship, is unequivocal; for we find that both the teaching and the practice of the early church agree in declaring that "repentance toward God and faith

toward our Lord Jesus Christ," together with baptism into the name of Christ¹ as the act of confession, constitutes any one a member of Christ's church. We cannot fail to notice that the conditions of membership as defined by the apostles are identical with the terms of salvation. The same golden key of faith which opens the kingdom of God to every believer also readily unlocked the doors of the early church, for they swung wide open to every one who, with this key in his hand, could say, "I accept Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord," and just by confessing this in the act of baptism the believer crossed the threshold and became a member of Christ's church. But if to-day that golden key does not always open the door of Christ's church, shall we say, "You must find a key that will fit," or shall we examine our complicated locks? In other words, shall we not ask whether the simple confession of that faith in Christ which really constitutes one a "member of the body of Christ" ought not to be enough now, as it was then, to make him also a member of the local church? — not excluding any reasonable provisions of a covenant, of course.

We recognize the distinction between the visible and the invisible church, and it is a very real one. There are doubtless many included in the invisible church who are not numbered among the members of the visible church, and there are some nominal members of the latter who may not be members indeed of the former; but while we are thus obliged to draw a line of distinction between the visible and the invisible church, that is, between the actual and the ideal, or, more exactly, perhaps, between the formal and the real, we must also realize that the nearer the boundaries of the visible church correspond to the limits of the invisible, the better for the church of Christ in the world; and that if it were what it ought to be, there would be no such distinction at all. Why, then, should not the church of Christ do everything in its power to make its boundaries co-extensive with the invisible church, and how can it do so save by making its terms of admission run as nearly parallel as possible with the terms of salvation? Does the Church of Christ desire to exclude from its communion any who are vitally related to Christ by faith? Shall it deny fellowship to such as are being saved? Will it close its doors to any who "may enter in through the gates into the city"?

But it will hardly be asserted that the intelligent holding of a creed is an essential condition of salvation, and there is no evi-

¹ The longer Trinitarian formula was probably not used at first. See ANDOVER REVIEW, *ut supra*.

dence that in the early church there was a doctrinal test of discipleship. All the elaborate statements of Christian doctrine which have been used as tests of membership are of much later origin. In the first century it was *faith, not belief*, which constituted the disciple a member of Christ's church. Have the true conditions of membership changed since then? the terms of salvation certainly have not. The real question at the root of our inquiry is, What is the true *principle* of Christian fellowship? Is it belief or is it faith? If it is belief, then the more elaborate and accurate — and, of course, also divisive — the creed of the local church the better. If it is faith, then the question becomes primarily not one of longer or shorter creed, but of any creed at all. Do not let me be misunderstood. I mean no creed only in the doctrinal theological sense, for of course a credo is fundamental to Christian faith, and the simplest confession of Christ contains the germ of all creeds; and so it is almost an absurdity, strictly speaking, to say that the true principle of Christian fellowship involves no creed at all; but it is no absurdity to make a distinction between a simple personal confession of faith in Christ and a statement of Christian doctrine more or less comprehensive, for there is a radical difference between the two: the principle of the one is faith, the principle of the other is belief. One says, "I believe *in*;" the other says, "We believe *that*." (A comparison of the Apostles' Creed with the Nicene Creed will further illustrate the distinction.)

Is there any question that the creeds of our churches are for the most part modelled upon the principle that a common belief is the true bond of fellowship? Are they not statements of intellectual belief rather than confessions of personal faith? Do they not say "We believe *that*," rather than "I believe *in*"? And if not very formidable, nor admirable, as statements of doctrine, — for they are too often the effeminate and crippled progeny of a sterner, sturdier stock, in comparison with which they seem like "dudes" beside a dragon, — yet do they not have some family traits? Have they not retained, to change the figure, much of the form and flavor of theological productions? Are they not usually formal and dreary, so that they read, as another has said, "like an oath before a magistrate"? They certainly have too little of the life and warmth of confessional expressions of faith in a personal Saviour.

If the churches are not altogether satisfied with their creeds so far as they are modelled upon the principle that belief, that is,

intellectual opinion, is the true ground of fellowship, — and indications that they are not are not wanting, — this dissatisfaction may be accounted for, not merely by the fact that this principle does not work well in practice, but by the more serious consideration that it is not right in *principle*. While our New England churches have not yet abandoned the principle emphasized by our Puritan fathers, that soundness of belief is a test of church membership, they have not, let us thank God, followed this principle with the logical consistency of a John Ward; for there is usually a delightful discrepancy between the severity of the creed and covenant, and the comfortable clemency of the pastor and committee! And many a hard creed and cold covenant have been transfigured with a glow of love as the formal words were mel-
lowed by the tender accents of a human voice, musical with the sweet spirit of a Christlike welcome.¹ The fact is, many of our churches no longer heartily believe in the *principle* of making a doctrinal test the condition of Christian fellowship, although very few, I suppose, have formally abandoned it, and substituted for it some expression of the apostolic principle of faith as a rule of fellowship; nevertheless, as already intimated, the actual practice is usually in substantial accord with the principles of the gospel as they have been stated with admirable wisdom and spirit in the Cambridge Platform.²

¹ But even the elocution of genuine and tender feeling could hardly soften the asperities of a covenant like the following extract from the existing covenant of a certain Congregational Church:—

“And you cordially join yourself to this as a true church of Christ; unreservedly engaging to submit to its discipline, so far as conformable to the rules of the gospel; and solemnly covenanting to strive, as much as in you lies, for its peace, edification, and purity, and to walk with its members in Christian love, faithfulness, circumspection, meekness, and sobriety. Thus you covenant, promise, and engage.

“And now, do we, the members of this church, receive you cheerfully to our communion; engaging, on our part, to love, pray for you, and watch over you as Christians; and entreating you to remember, that from this solemn hour you have assumed obligations from which you can never escape. Wherever you go, these vows will be upon you. They will follow you to the bar of God; and in whatever world you may be fixed, will abide upon you to eternity. You can never again be as you have been. You have unalterably committed yourself; and henceforth you must be the servant of God. Hereafter the eyes of the world will be upon you; and as you demean yourself, so religion will be honored or disgraced. If you walk worthy of your profession, you will be a credit and comfort to us; if otherwise, a grief and reproach.”

² “(1) The doors of the churches of Christ upon earth do not by God’s appointment stand so wide open that all sorts of people, good or bad, may

Why, then, may not this dissatisfaction with the older formulæ and the movement toward their revision be ascribed to an honest desire to make the formal conditions of membership in Christ's church correspond more closely with the real; and why should we not attempt to do this, that both our theory and our practice may be conformed to the simple principle of the gospel and be welded together by its spirit? If this were done, it is evident that each one of the practical difficulties which we meet in attempting to make a doctrinal test the condition of Christian fellowship would disappear at once. The weak and the doubting disciple will encounter no longer a stumbling-block at the door of Christ's church, which, as it takes its stand on the firm ground of apostolic teaching, can, in Christ's name, invite all Christians to come to his table, and expect of those who come only what the Master himself expects of all his disciples. And the creed, finding its true uses as a standard of teaching, may, instead of being crippled and dwarfed, grow into the full expression of the best thought of the church. There are several proper and important uses of a creed, but I believe its use as a test of church-membership is not one of them, — it is not good for a chisel to be used as a screw-driver, — and it is just because such a use of the creed has a definite tendency to defeat the very end for which it would be strenuously maintained by many, that it ought to be abandoned. If this seems to any like abandoning the faith once delivered to the saints, and like levelling a bulwark of orthodoxy, let me add that a creed in itself is no safeguard; it has no inherent power to diffuse itself as if by magic, even though it be occasionally displayed publicly. We must

freely enter in at their pleasure, but such as are admitted thereto as members ought to be examined and tried first, whether they be fit and meet to be received into church society or not.

"(2) The things which are requisite to be found in all church members are *repentance* from sin and *faith* in Jesus Christ, and, therefore, these are the things whereof men are to be examined at their admission into the church, and which then they must profess and hold forth in such sort as may satisfy rational charity that the things are there indeed.

"(3) The weakest measure of faith is to be accepted in those that desire to be admitted into the church, because weak Christians, if sincere, have the substance of that faith, repentance, and holiness which is required in church members, and such have most need of the ordinances for their confirmation and growth in grace. The Lord Jesus would not quench the smoking flax nor break the bruised reed, but gather the tender lambs in his arms and carry them gently in his bosom. Such charity and tenderness is to be used as the weakest Christian, if sincere, may not be excluded nor discouraged. Severity of examination is to be avoided."

rely upon some more active and efficient agencies to foster the orthodoxy of new disciples. If catechetical instruction based upon the creed, — a kind of instruction which has been displaced but by no means replaced by the Sunday-school, — if this is needed to supply the disuse of a doctrinal test of membership, let us not forget that it is also the only thing which in common honesty can justify the use of it. But whatever our formal terms of admission, let us learn to put the same paramount and implicit reliance reposed by the apostles in that faith which alone constitutes any one a member of the body of Christ.

Charles H. Cutler.

BANGOR, ME.

NOTE. — The use of a doctrinal statement as a condition of church-membership has been discussed from the point of view of a pastor; it may therefore be fitting to add the following form of admission, recently adopted, with only two dissenting votes, by an old Congregational Church. It is offered, not as the ideal form, but as a practical contribution to the discussion, and in the hope that it will be of service to other churches in the difficult process of creed-revision.

The church retains its former creed intact, to be published in the manual with the following Note: —

The foregoing Creed remains as an expression of the doctrinal belief of the Church, with which the teachings of the Church are expected to be in substantial accord.

But there are sincere followers of Christ, we think, fit candidates for our church fellowship, who cannot, for whatever cause, assent to this or any like form with full intelligence and heartiness. We ask of those who join us, not assent to a form of doctrine but confession of a personal faith and loyalty toward Jesus Christ. Such a confession we have sought to embody in the *Form of Admission* which follows, and to this alone members joining the Church hereafter will be asked to assent.

FORM OF ADMISSION.

The candidates, without being called, will come forward while the minister is reading the following words: —

What shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits toward me? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord. I will pay my vows unto the Lord now in the presence of all His people.

OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST saith:

Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls.

Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven.

Grace be unto you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

DEARLY BELOVED: You humbly trust that by the grace of God you have been led to accept Christ as your Savior, and with the help of the Divine Spirit you are trying to follow Him as your Master. Believing that He has called you into His Kingdom and given you a place with His people and a work to do with them, you desire in grateful obedience to confess the Lord Jesus Christ, and consecrating yourself (*yourselves*) to His service, to enter into the fellowship of this His church.

In token that this is your sincere belief and desire, do you now make confession of your faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as He is presented in the Scriptures, and do you, heartily repenting of your sins, accept Him as your Master and your Divine Savior?

Desiring to be numbered with His disciples, you will now be baptized in this faith.

Baptism of those who have never been baptized.

Do you who were baptized in childhood freely accept that consecration, confirming for yourself (*yourselves*) the vows made for you?

COVENANT.

You do now then, in humble dependence on God, consecrate yourself (*yourselves*) to His worship and service, and joyfully give yourself (*yourselves*) to Him, to be His forever. Abiding henceforth in Jesus Christ, you will strive with the help of the Holy Spirit to cultivate within you the fruit of the Spirit, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; and naming yourself (*yourselves*) with the name of Christ, you avow your purpose to glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are His. Do you thus covenant?

Here those, if any, who unite by letter will rise.

BELOVED: You have been recommended to our communion by the church (*churches*) of your former membership. Trusting that you will both receive comfort and strength and impart the same to us, we welcome you in the love of a common Master to our joys and labors, as you enter (with those who confess Christ for the first time) into

COVENANT WITH THIS CHURCH.

You do now (all) enter into covenant with this church, to join in its work, ordinances, and worship; to submit to its discipline; to work and pray for its growth, purity, and peace; to walk with its members in love and faithfulness.

This you heartily promise?

The members of the Church will rise.

We then, the members of this Church, do joyfully welcome you to our communion. By the help of the same Spirit on whom you rely, we promise you our sympathies, our watchfulness, our prayers. We welcome you in the name of Christ to a share in the hopes, the labors, the joys of His Church. Receive then our Christian welcome. We greet you as fellow-citizens of the saints and of the household of God, heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away; and we pray that He which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ.

The people being seated, the minister may here, if he so pleases, give the right hand of fellowship to each new member, with an appropriate passage of Scripture for each.

For this cause we bow our knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that He would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend, with all the saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God.

Beloved, the Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make his face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace.

Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God, our Savior, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen.

It is proper to acknowledge indebtedness for suggestions embodied in the above form to the Trinitarian Congregational Church of Taunton, Mass., also to St. Lawrence Street Congregational Church, Lawrence, Mass., Congregational Church, Montclair, N. J., and others.

C. H. C.

CHRIST IN CHRISTIANITY.

IN the contest over the belief in miracles — as in most other contests — each side misunderstands the other. The unbeliever usually assails the belief as superstitious, but it is not superstition to suppose that higher necessities may at times apparently affect the regularity of nature's laws. On the other hand, the doubter is condemned at once as a heretic, a materialist, or even as an

atheist, while as a matter of fact many serious men have no control over such doubts, and their honest incredulity is not incompatible with all that is best in religion.

The weightiest objection in the minds of such skeptics is not materialistic. They do not dwell on the physical but on the mental improbability of the occurrence of miracles. The belief seems to them like the suggestion of the existence of caprice in the mind of God. Miracles cannot be discredited on the ground that they are wonderful, for the whole universe, visible and invisible, is a continual wonder.

We use the word "materialist" much too loosely. What is matter after all? We know spirit much better. Matter is merely the name which we give to the unknown centre to which phenomena point. On the other hand, *we* are spiritual centres ourselves. We know our own spirits at first hand. Everything but our own spiritual existence we must take upon faith. All our knowledge of matter is an exterior knowledge. How we skim over the surface of things; how we rebound from them in our attempt to get into them! Nature, like a mischievous boy, dazzles our eyes with her mirror, so that we cannot see what there is behind it and who moves it. We have each of us pierced the surface of nature at one point only, and that is in our own selves. I know my own soul, and this is no surface knowledge. Here, at least, I am behind the scenes. I can, at this point, see what there is under nature's face; and what do I find? Thought and will and conscience. All my fellow-men report the same discovery. Wherever we strike through the crust of the earth, then, we disclose not matter but mind. Is not mind, then, the stratum which lies beneath phenomena as the Silurian rocks support the Devonian? The word "matter" is really a mere algebraic X — an unknown quantity — standing for something, we know not what, unless it be spirit. Your materialist is, in fact, the most extravagant of idealists. He constructs his whole universe of matter, and matter is the most abstract of ideas. Let him succeed in proving that matter and spirit are one, and he will only have shown that matter is spiritual, not that spirit is material. As we are accustomed to distinguish spirit from matter, so we draw the line between life and force, and disparage any attempt to prove a relationship between them, on the ground that such a course tends to degrade life and place it on a materialistic plane. But are the forces of nature mechanical and dead? In our present condition of knowledge is not this a violent assumption? All motion seems to pro-

ceed either from animal and vegetable life or from the heavenly bodies, in whose heat and attraction most so-called lifeless forces originate. Is it not possible that life is the cause of all motion, and that the movements of stars and planets are manifestations of life, magnified to a degree never dreamed of by the microscopist and whose secret yet eludes us? What but a germ of life could have caused the first movement in the motionless chaos? The apostle of matter and force may think that he is reducing the universe to very simple terms, but he is really further from a solid basis than the philosopher who begins with his own living soul.

The honest believer and the honest unbeliever are neither of them as foolish nor as wicked as they seem to each other. They have one bond of union — honesty — which should entitle each to the other's respect, and each should consider sympathetically the position of the other. What, then, is the situation, with reference to historical Christianity, of the man who denies the possibility of miracles? Nothing can be gained by minimizing the effect of such a determination. The miracles of the Gospels must stand or fall together. He cannot consistently say that such and such a miracle is incredible and yet preserve the resurrection of Christ's body and his corporeal ascension into heaven.

Now what is left for a man who finds himself forced, as he thinks, by irresistible logic into this condition of unbelief? Shall his Christian friends send him to the "Evidences" with instructions to lift himself up by the waistband? Such forcing of belief is an inhuman torture. Faith, produced in that way, is an unhealthy monster, conceived in cowardice, and bred in hypocrisy.

If our skeptic turns in disgust from such teaching, what will he find left in Christ? Must he satisfy himself with a perfect example? But of what use is a perfect example if it is impossible to follow it? Or is he to recognize only the great discoverer and teacher of the doctrine of self-renunciation? But there is small comfort in a teaching which cannot be perfectly followed, and even if he could follow it, he cannot console himself with self-renunciation without hope. Let him turn, says some one, to the religion of humanity. Here he will find the Christian philosophy of self-sacrifice united with hope in the future perfection of the human race. He can find peace and joy in doing his share in the great work of evolution.

No thinking man can at the present day deny that evolution accounts for many facts in nature and that it properly holds a

prominent place in our philosophy. It can in no way diminish the wonder and beauty of the physical and mental world to go back one or two steps in the path of causation and find that they accord with our reason. Things are none the less what they are because of their past. There is still magic in eye and ear to turn mere physical vibrations into landscape and music. How dismal a world we should have, if our sensations were mathematical and mechanical only, and told us the number and form of these undulations and nothing more! This is all that they have to reveal, but in what a language of sound and color they interpret it! And so it is with morals. Let us admit that a sense of right and wrong is an inheritance with some kind of utilitarian and selfish origin, just as our sight and hearing may have been rudimentary in our remote progenitors; still morality is, nevertheless, to-day a great spiritual fact, no more to be denied than that the leaf is green or the harp-note melodious. It is evolution, perhaps, that has instilled into our perceptions an enchantment which transforms vibratory motions into a Sistine Madonna or a Pastoral Symphony; which gives to lowly acts of common life the tint and tone of nobility and self-sacrifice; and which turns science into art, utilitarianism into morality, and philosophy into religion. Right and wrong, color and sound, are actual entities, no matter how they came to be so.

Will this evolution, then, which has done so much, finally bring our race to the millennium? Evolution cannot do everything. There have been crises in the history of life which cannot be explained by the ordinary rules of natural selection, heredity, environment, and survival of the fittest. These laws do not account for the first manifestations of vegetable or of animal or of human life. It is difficult to conceive of the periods of these events except as times of struggle. The world must have been in travail to have produced such marvels, nor can the labor have been brief or easy. How the first germ of plant-life must have been fettered by the iron bonds of inertia! How often, to change the simile, must it have fallen back disheartened into the still sea of chaos, only to bubble up again, and again to disappear! We can sympathize still more with the transformation from vegetable to animal life. How helpless the first flickerings of consciousness must have been! How hopeless must have seemed the task of grasping the powers of the will! The sleep of plant-life must have striven like a nightmare once more to creep over the half-animate creature; and what a burst of triumphant effort was necessary to

set it free! And then comes the stride from animal to human life. Alas, we know too much of this! We are in the very midst of it now. We have the new nature, but for thousands of years we have endeavored in vain to cast aside the old. We have still all the brute impulses which are proper in beasts, but humiliating or even sinful in us. Their life is grounded on selfishness; ours should rest on self-sacrifice. They are perfect in their way; our perfect type is still unattained.

If evolution was powerless to bridge the gaps between stone and plant and between plant and animal, will its rule of the survival of the fittest lead us to perfection, or is there any natural reason for expecting a golden age for man on earth? The general trend of life has indeed been upwards. Must the seeker after truth find his consolation in the culmination of this advance, — a final glory in which he cannot himself share? Any such expectation is scientifically inaccurate. Man can never in his present conditions fulfill even his own highest conception of what he ought to be. Those necessary animal instincts upon which depend the continuance and physical well-being of mankind — those passions which control our bodies, hold the outposts of our minds, and are continually storming with frequent success the inmost fortress of our souls — are in themselves degrading and bestial. The duties which nature imposes upon us are altogether beneath our true dignity. Our higher natures must ever rebel against our bodily needs. It is hard to conceive of a perfect race of men with carnivorous teeth. The apotheosis of man on earth — if it ever occurs — will be short-lived, for a race without low instincts will soon die out. Evolution can do nothing more on its old lines for humanity. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest makes way for the new principle, — he that loseth his life shall find it.

Our doubter, then, can secure no relief in evolution. Unable to rest in the mere example or teaching of Christ, dissatisfied with the gospel of humanity, which is Christianity without Christ, must he, to find a Saviour, go back to Paley and the rest, and fit himself to their Procrustean bed? Surely this cannot be necessary. What is the essence of Christ's position in Christianity? It is the fact that he is the connecting link between God and man, the mediator, the intercessor. "I am the way; . . . no man cometh unto the Father but by me." "No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him." And yet He is also represented as God

himself. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." In short, Christ is the man-ward side of God.

One of the recent assertions of science, the fact that God, the infinite, is unknowable, is by no means new. "Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven: what canst thou do? Deeper than hell: what canst thou know?" The idea of infinity is bewildering for us. It brings to our minds a confused notion of boundless space with eternity for a sort of fourth dimension; of infinite power, knowledge, wisdom, and goodness. We can form no conception of omniscience. What is thinking but the wandering of the mind from one fact or fancy to another? Its guidance to the deepest truths is the noblest exercise. Thank heaven, we cannot compass them. There is enough truth to puzzle forever. What would thinking amount to if we held all truth? We can no more conceive of an all-knowing being who can think in the ordinary sense of the word than of an omnipresent being who can move. "My thoughts are not as thy thoughts." But does all-thought become no-thought? Into such absurdities are we plunged as soon as our finite minds approach infinity. Bring infinity into a simple algebraic problem and we have two equal to one. Extend our finite vision and all seems contradictory, for the infinite is the equilibrium of contradictions. It has precisely the same effect on our philosophy that it has on our algebra. It makes nonsense of both.

We cannot believe, however, that the source of our being is entirely beyond our apprehension. We can reason towards God, if we cannot reason to Him. Although our bodies are in one sense separate and individual, they are yet a part of the world and of the universe. So our minds are connected with all mind. We can predict the movements of planets. We find beauty in comet and star. The reasonableness, the sublimity of these things, touch an answering chord in us. We share the ideas for which the heavenly bodies stand. We are related to them, and are of the same family. Between us and them the only link is the Father of all, and it is certainly no presumption to hope for some knowledge of Him. He is the first cause, but the cause must be at least equal to the effect. We have reason and consciousness and individuality; He must have these attributes or something transcending them. We are persons; He must be a person or something more. This is not anthropomorphism. It does not represent God in man's image, but creates man in God's.

Christianity recognizes the impossibility of knowing God as the infinite one, and yet offers us some knowledge of Him in Christ. There is something in us which makes this contradiction seem reasonable. It satisfies our heart and our mind, and we appreciate the fact that all speculations on infinity lead to similar perplexities. The mysteries of God elude our examination. We can out of the corner of the eye see many a faint star which, when we gaze directly at it, becomes vague and disappears. So insight into the deep things of existence comes not of direct effort. They shine forth unexpectedly while we are looking elsewhere, and they catch only our sidelong glance. When we try to follow them and retain them and stare them in the face, they melt away and we even wonder if we saw anything. Christianity gives to man's side of the Deity no abstract and elusive character. It gives him individuality; and sympathy, which means literally co-suffering; and love, which is impossible without self-sacrifice. These are, logically speaking, strange attributes for an infinite being, but our souls demand them. Self-renunciation is in us the short-cut to infinite wisdom, and it must find in the infinite something analogous to itself. Our morality cannot be greater than God's, nor its conditions more favorable. The nature of God must admit of virtues equal to or surpassing ours. He cannot be an infinite, indivisible being without righteousness or affection. The idea of a Trinity seems to offer a suggestion of relationship and duty. Perhaps our natural fondness for unity is a shallow feeling after all. Every simple musical note is made up of several distinct sounds. Our own natures are not altogether single. We have a lower self and a higher self, a lower and a higher will. One seeks after the nearest pleasure; the other strives for the approval of conscience. Morality is the duty which our lower self owes to our higher self, it is loyalty to self, while religion is loyalty to God, — to a God who turns towards man a face of helpful sympathy.

This is the God of Christianity — the Christ himself. Let us picture Him coming now to our skeptic. Would He say to him, "You must believe that I lived and died thus and so in Palestine eighteen hundred years ago. However improbable it may seem to you, you must believe it, or I will turn my back on you forever"? This would be not only ungodlike but inhuman. He would rather say: "My child, your lower nature, with its appetites and passions, is degraded and degrading; your motives are double, like your character; your honor is mixed with disloyalty; your love with selfishness, envy, and intolerance. Your heart is deceitful

above all things and desperately wicked. But you have a higher nature which yearns for something better. You cannot rise above your lower nature to the higher by yourself, but I can help you to put off the old man with his deeds and put on the new man. A broken and a contrite heart I will not despise. I feel for you, sympathize with you, love you. Take my hand. Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest." This is the Christ who, as St. John says, was the "true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." It is God in his relation to man. He speaks in our sense of sin, in our conscience, in our aspirations, in our better selves. Take the hand of this present Christ, the living aspect of the Eternal One; yield yourself trustfully and lovingly to God as you apprehend Him, and in the hope of a fuller apprehension, and what becomes of the question of miracles, or the conflicts of infallible books and infallible churches? You can now turn with an easy mind to the history of Jesus of Nazareth. Perhaps as you study the simple story, and learn more of the grandeur of that wonderful character, you may recognize in the Galilean teacher the Christ whom you already know; but in any event you can be thankful for the record of a life which typifies so beautifully and abundantly the relations of God to man. In the study of these relations, in learning more and more of the nature of God, lies the true evolution of humanity. That we know God no better of ourselves is the fault of our faculties, mental and moral. We know Him, doubtless, as well as we are capable of knowing Him. We must each and as a race endeavor to extend those faculties and to "grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Ernest H. Crosby.

NEW YORK CITY.

EDITORIAL.

THE OPENING OF MANSFIELD COLLEGE, AND THE PURITAN
RETURN TO OXFORD.

ABOUT five years ago, if we remember aright, there was talk in private circles of a plan to establish at Oxford, in connection with its University, a Congregational Theological Seminary. The scheme involved the removal of the Independent Spring Hill College, Birmingham, and the transference from Airedale College of Principal Fairbairn. As developed, it involved a marked change in the organization of Spring Hill College, and an advance upon the prevailing method of theological training. As a rule, we suppose, the Nonconformist ministry in England, so far as it has been educated in its own institutions, has been trained in colleges which have combined academic and professional courses — a state of things something like that which existed generations ago in New England when the college studies were largely shaped to prepare men for the ministry, and much behind what has been secured in the present century by the entire separation of the academic and theological courses, and the founding of distinct schools thoroughly equipped for the latter purpose. How long the plan of removal to Oxford may have been in ripening we cannot say; it certainly encountered many obstacles, among them the legal embarrassments connected with the trust funds of an endowed school. In England, however, there exists a convenient and useful Board of Charity Commissioners, to which such difficulties can be referred, and by whose aid, in the present instance, they were removed, so that in 1886 a new foundation at Oxford was begun, under the name of Mansfield College, with a three years' course of theological studies, as follows: —

First Year. — Apologetics and Philosophy of Religion : Dr. Fairbairn. N. T. Exegesis, I. : Professor Massie. Hebrew, Elementary : Mr. Spurrell. N. T. Introduction, I. : Professor Sanday. O. T. Theology : Professor Cheyne. History of Christian Institutions, I. : Dr. Hatch.

Second Year. — Systematic Theology, I., and History of Religions, I. : Dr. Fairbairn. N. T. Exegesis, II. : Professor Massie. Hebrew, Advanced : Mr. Spurrell. N. T. Introduction, II. : Professor Sanday. O. T. Introduction and Exegesis, I. : Professor Driver. History of Christian Institutions, II. : Dr. Hatch.

Third Year. — Systematic Theology, II., and History of Religions, II. : Dr. Fairbairn. N. T. Exegesis, III. : Professor Massie. Hebrew, Rabbinical : Dr. Neubauer. O. T. Introduction and Exegesis, II. : Professor Driver. O. T. Interpretation : Professor Cheyne. History of Christian Institutions, III. : Dr. Hatch.

The announcement also states : "It is expected that Chairs of Homiletics and Church History will be established at an early date."

This scheme corresponds very closely with those common in this coun-

try, though Biblical Theology is restricted to that of the Old Testament, and in other important respects the range of studies is more limited than with us — due, no doubt, to the necessary incompleteness of a first announcement. A marked and pleasant feature is the appearance, in the roll of instructors, of well-known names of professors and lecturers connected with the Church of England. The faculty, when full, will consist of “five professors, as many fellows, and several readers or lecturers.” The name, Mansfield College, is given in honor of the family which endowed the school at Birmingham. Its students are required to become members of the University of Oxford. They must have graduated at some university, or at least have passed “Moderations” at Oxford. The college, however, has scholarships for the aid of men who are not prepared to enter upon its theological courses. Candidates for these scholarships must show ability to graduate from the University after three years of study. They are awarded upon examination, and upon a promise to take the full theological course in Mansfield College, after graduation from the University.

During the present month the new and attractive buildings which have been in preparation are, we suppose, to be set apart to their uses, and the college is to be formally opened. A series of meetings is announced, continuing from the 14th to the 16th of October, and numerous guests have been cordially invited to be present from this country. We fear that the season of the year, it being the time when clergymen and professors are specially required to be at their posts, will permit very few to accept an invitation which none can decline without sincere regret. For the occasion is one of no ordinary significance and interest. It emphasizes and illuminates the legislation which has opened the universities to Dissenters. It marks especially the Puritan return to Oxford. Nothing was so dear to the Puritan as his religion, and no science, in his esteem, so sacred and ennobling as divinity. In no true and worthy sense, therefore, could it be said that he had gone back to Oxford if he were not there authorized and free to teach theology. In its eminent Principal, Mansfield College has a head, and Congregationalism a representative, worthy to follow Owen, Goodwin, and John Howe, and his reception at Oxford, as we read the signs, has been most encouraging. He must, indeed, be very ignorant of his own limitations, and insensible to the greatness of Christianity, who should not desire that every apprehension of this revelation of divine truth and grace should find its most adequate form and its complete expression. Every division of the sacramental host should wish to have every other in best array; every lover of truth desire that each conception of it should gain its best scientific statement. The ejection of the Nonconformists from the universities more than two hundred years ago was esteemed by them a calamity. No men in the kingdom were by inheritance more firm believers in the power of truth, more ardent cultivators of it, or more devoted friends of education.

And they well knew that great universities, even if the field were clear, as it was not, for their establishment, cannot be extemporized. Banishment from the universities was to them not only exile from Hellas and Pierian founts, but from the yet more longed-for springs and heights of sacred learning. With what indomitable devotion to their principles, with what constant endeavor to remedy the disadvantages of their position, with what success in the cultivation of Biblical science and promotion of liberal education, they have maintained their best traditions and contributed to the renown in letters and arts and sacred science, as well as to the liberties, of England, history has recorded; and at last they have won!

"Peace hath her victories
No less renown'd than War."

And it is one of the blessings of such triumphs that foes are converted into friends. Mansfield College rears its stately halls on "a portion of the old cricket ground of Merton College," — that college which is pre-eminent beyond all others as the *fons et origo* of the English Universities. The new is grafted into the old; it is of the trunk and the root. And we seem already to hear the ancient University saying to its latest branch: "You are grafted into your own olive tree."

In his thoughtful Inaugural Address as chairman of "The Congregational Union of England and Wales," Dr. Fairbairn, in a passage remarkable for its depth and brilliancy, imagined that a Tacitus, with his strong sense of right and keen insight into men and history, should revisit this earth and compare the Christianity of the nineteenth century with that whose beginnings he had watched in the first. We think it would be worth a trip across the Atlantic to hear him introduce at the coming festivities John Owen, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford and Dean of Christ Church, to tell us the worth of the "detestable superstition" that was once expelled from Oxford. Unlike the pagan historian, he was himself a believer in that superstition, and suffered in its behalf; yet like him he would return with confession of mistaken judgments. The *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* has triumphed over his tenet of a text of Scripture infallible even to the Massoretic vowel-points, and Scripture does not teach, as he supposed, that an atonement sufficient for all was intended for only a few or a part. On many points besides doctrines his accent would be less confident than of old; on many points of policy his manner more conciliatory. The toleration he extended to Episcopalians at Oxford is not precisely what he would now wish for Congregationalists there, and his encouragement of music and leaping bars and bell-ringing might seem to him only a very imperfect recognition of what the church may encourage in amusements in the name of the Son of Man, or make tributary to her devotions in architecture and sacred song. Doubtless the kingdom of God would seem to him something much larger and nobler than a Puritan commonwealth, and a Christian university some-

thing quite other than a sectarian school or his own highest ideal. Still, as we have intimated, he would return not merely with confession of error; he would come *in propria persona*, — what more commanding and gracious personality could even Oxford desire to see revived from her illustrious dead? — a man who “made conscience of his thoughts,” and who in the language of his inaugural oration as Vice-Chancellor addressed himself to his work, “trusting in a promised divine presence according to the demands of the age and its Providential opportunity, integrity of conscience alone supplying the place of all other aids and ornaments, and with a spirit neither depressed nor servile.”¹ Still, too, would he urge a spiritual apprehension of Christianity as the supreme necessity, and a defense and teaching of the gospel reliant upon the self-evidencing power of its truths as alone correspondent with its divine origin and power. And still would he turn every student of theology to the source of all strength and power for the Christian ministry, “the eternal fountain of supply in Christ, who furnisheth seasonable help to every pious endeavor, unless our littleness of faith stand in the way; thence light, thence strength, thence courage, are to be waited for, . . . nay, rather, are to be prayed for.”²

We send across the sea our salutation to Mansfield College, and wish it a career of usefulness corresponding to its opportunity, and the noblest traditions of the university into which it is incorporated. From Oxford came some of the most eminent of the early Congregational ministers of New England. Those joined to them in the succession and fellowship of the Christian ministry in this land will unite with us in this greeting; nor they alone, but all who believe that there is a unity of the church in truth as well as in labor, and that theological science has a great and noble task to fulfill in making this unity manifest and serviceable.

THE LONDON STRIKE.

“Go to the docks” is the last word to the London laborer. When thrown out of all regular employment he has one more chance, that of becoming a “casual” at the docks. Once there he finds himself in the midst of a motley crowd, all waiting for the same chance with himself. They have come from the street, from the jails, from other irregular work, or from no work, to earn enough perhaps for a meal, the only one, in some cases, for twenty-four hours. Some of them will be unable to work for more than an hour, and will then withdraw, or sell

¹ Illius ideo presentiae gratiosae promissae innixus, pro statu temporum, et occasione rerum, quam, divinâ ita providentiâ disponente, nacti sumus, unicâ conscientiae integritate aliorum adjutorum et ornamentorum omnium vices obeunte, nec propendente, genio, negotio huic me accingo.

² Perennem ille auxiliorum fontem constituit Christum; qui nulli non pio conamini εὐκαιρον suppeditat βοήθειαν, nostra nisi obstat ἀλγοπιστία: inde lumen, inde vires, inde spiritus mihi expectandi, imo orandi sunt.

their places for a trifle. No laborer earns so precarious a living, or so suffers from the advantage taken of his necessities, as the "casual" at the docks. Such, at least, was his condition before the strike.

We must distinguish between the "casual" and the regular employee at the docks. The export trade employs its own men, who are trained to their work of packing and storage, who work on regular time and receive regular wages. These men have for some time been associated in a trades' union. In the import trade the ship-owners give the cargoes into the hands of the dock companies, and it is from them that the "casual" gets his work, if at all. The employees of the dock companies are divided into three grades, — regulars, preferred or ticket-men, and casuals. The proportion between these grades, or classes, at two of the East London docks is as follows: —

WEST AND EAST INDIA DOCKS.¹

Permanent laborers	818
Preferred laborers	700
Casual laborers	—
Maximum number	2,355
Minimum number	600

LONDON AND ST. KATHERINE DOCKS.

Permanent laborers	1,070
Preferred laborers	450
Casual laborers	—
Maximum number	3,700
Minimum number	1,100

The strike originated with the casuals, and was continued in their behalf through the support of all associated laborers to the number of 100,000. The demands of the strikers were for an advance from 5d. to 6d. per hour, and 8d. an hour for night work, a minimum of 2s. for all dock laborers employed before being dismissed, and a termination of the contract or sweating system under which the contractors received back a considerable part of the wages nominally paid to the laborer. The companies were willing to accede to the last two demands, but resisted the first, the increase of a penny in the hourly pay, the ground of their resistance being that they could not afford to advance the price as they were not paying reasonable dividends on the investment. They declared that the alternative of paying more for labor would be to increase the cost to ship-owners, and force them to seek other ports of entry. We shall refer to the fallacy of this contention.

The demands of the strikers have been complied with, except in the time of the increase of pay, which is to begin on November 1st. The success of this strike is worthy of careful reflection, as it shows more clearly than any strike of recent years those conditions which justify a strike, and which give it a successful issue.

¹ *Life and Labour*, vol. i., p. 190.

Of course the chief condition everywhere is the justice of the cause. Here it was undeniable and conspicuous. We have described the condition of the "casual" laborer at the dock. The reply of the dock companies to this condition was that they could not afford to do better. But upon investigation it proved that this only meant that they were carrying a great deal of unproductive capital on which they were trying to pay dividends. A well-informed writer in the London "Times" stated that "probably one half of the capital outlay of the London and St. Katherine docks and the East and West India Dock Companies may be considered obsolete for all practical purposes in connection with shipping." A great deal of capital seems to have been sunk in arrangements not suited to the steam navigation of the present time, a condition quite in contrast with the state of the Liverpool docks. Nothing remained for the companies to do in this circumstance except the very necessary, though very trying, expedient of reducing the capital to its actual working value, of "writing off" so much as represented what was obsolete. To attempt to secure returns upon this part of the capital at the expense of the laborer was precisely the same in result, though not so bad in intention, as the attempt which has sometimes been made in this country to oblige the laborer on railroads to pay dividends on watered stock through a reduction in his wages.

Another condition of peculiar significance has been the good order observed by the strikers. Something of this has been due to the unexpected self-restraint and restraining influence of the leader, John Burns, already known as a socialistic agitator of the more violent type. He continually counseled patience, forbearance, sobriety, while he succeeded in infusing that degree of courage and hope which made it possible for men to endure. And the endurance of the men under the prolonged parleying and indecision was admirable and even heroic. We have seen no record of mob violence. Property was as safe in London during the strike as in Edinborough. Pickets were kept out to pick off new laborers hired by the dock companies, but little intimidation was practiced. On the whole, the strikers have won the moral respect of the city and nation by their behavior. The London Press speaks, without exception so far as we have seen, in praise of their conduct under the severe strain put upon them by the delays incident to difficult negotiation.

As a result of both these conditions the further condition of public sympathy was present in a remarkable degree. It was, in fact, the immediate and continued and generous material support of the public which kept the strikers from starvation, and so from surrender. Gifts of money were received from widely different sources. The contributions from Australia were specially prompt and generous. It is estimated that at the close of the strike there was a surplus in the hands of the Committee, an unprecedented event. As an example of the general sympathy

and helpfulness, we quote from the "Christian World" a brief statement of the work of the churches in the neighborhood in the way of feeding the multitude:—

"From the beginning the ministers and churches on the spot have labored incessantly to do all in their power to keep the wolf from the door of the dockers. The military organization of the Salvation Army and its possession of food depots in the midst of the dock districts has enabled General Booth to feed eight or nine thousand daily, at the charge of a farthing or a halfpenny per head. Church of England clergymen, Non-conformist ministers and churches, the Christ Church (Oxford) East London Mission, have labored side by side. Some seven hundred men, morning by morning, have breakfasted at St. George's Chapel, the centre of the Wesleyan East London Mission, and Rev. James Chadburn, the Children's Friend, has, in the Shaftesbury Mission Hall, distributed porridge, sandwiches, and other refreshments, to not far short of a thousand daily. Rev. J. Toulson, President of the Primitive Methodist Conference, with thirteen ministers and several laymen, form a central relief committee, under which five local committees are at work. Rev. F. W. Newland and his church are giving a dinner to 450 children daily. Eleven South-eastern ministers unite in a joint appeal to our readers for help. Many churches have sent collections to the Strike Committee. We believe it is nothing more than the truth to say that but for the relief administered by the churches, the struggle could not have been maintained. Famine would have sided irresistibly with the dock directors."

A somewhat unusual but very effective condition of success in the result of the strike was the mediating influence brought to bear upon the companies and upon the strikers. In this work the figure of Cardinal Manning holds a deserved prominence. The Lord Mayor of the City and the Bishop of London labored to the same end, but the work of the Cardinal was more patient and persistent, and, in the end, really brought about the agreement by which November 1st was accepted as the time for the increase of pay, the strikers demanding immediate increase, and the companies holding out for January 1st. It is not always that any one occupies a position inviting the confidence of one party and the sympathy of the other. The office of mediator is a most difficult one to hold with firmness and patience to the end. But the example of Cardinal Manning shows what can be done, and will prove a most helpful precedent in allaying strife in the future conflicts of capital and labor.

Without question the London strike has wrought much good in various ways. It has done something to take the lowest class of laborers out of the terrible "residium" of the unemployed and to give them a foothold in the ranks of labor. It has brought together the people and the masses, especially the church and the masses. "He would be a bold man," the Rev. James Chadburn says, "who attacked a Salvation Army meeting in East London to-day; and our mission hall" (Mr. Chadburn writes from Trinity Parsonage), "where we have fed 1,100 children daily, is quite safe. 'God bless you, sir,' with finger raised to his hat, says the docker

to the minister to-day." Above all it has taught the lowest laborer self-respect. It has given him a new reliance and a new courage. East London is on a higher moral level than that of two months ago.

It would be foolish for any party or for any sect to attempt to make capital out of the result. The strike proves nothing for or against Socialism, for example. John Burns, the leader, is a Socialist, but it was the coöperation of all classes which gave him success. He would probably allow that it was a victory of English justice and English pluck over an inherited system of oppression and wrong.

"THE DEATH OF COPERNICUS."¹

MR. AUBREY DE VERE's recent poem, "The Death of Copernicus," deserves attention for its historic insight and apologetic value, as well as for its literary merits. In the latter respect its diction seems to us at times to become slightly prosaic, as though the serious argument of the poem weighted too heavily its wings, yet this is only an occasional lapse, and there are passages of sustained imaginative and rhythmical power in no ordinary degree.

The conception of the poem is noble and fitted to finest uses. Copernicus is narrated to have received the day before his death the first printed copy of his "De Orbium Coelestium Revolutionibus." He had kept it back for thirty-six years, that he might thoroughly test its conclusions, and not needlessly disturb the established Faith. The burden of the poem is his musings called up by the sight of his book, on the relations of the "Truth of Nature" and the "Truth Revealed." The former is more especially astronomic truth—the new outlook upon the vastness and unity of the stellar universe, an infinitude of worlds of which he had demonstrated that the earth could no longer be deemed the centre. But should he publish his discovery? The central significance and importance of this planet was to the faithful a sacred truth, attested in a supernatural and infallible revelation which affirms that the earth "cannot be moved," cherished in church traditions practically as authoritative as Sacred Writ, and congruous with its essential dogmas of the Incarnation and the Cross. The astronomer recalls how he had tested his conclusions, trying them by all the methods known to investigation; how he had tested no less the teaching of Scripture by its own laws. Here, as in his special science, he discovered that the text and the interpretation which had been put upon it were things very distinct. The Ptolemaic system was not Nature's teaching, but a human gloss. No less had Scripture been misunderstood.

"Faith is more than Science :
But 'twixt the interpretation and the text
Lies space world-wide."

¹ *The Death of Copernicus.* By Aubrey De Vere. *Contemporary Review*, September, 1889, pp. 421-430.

Satisfied that the special revelation did not contradict what seemed to him to be the truth taught by his Science, he had at last printed his book ; but on the verge of the shadow of death, as he turned to the world of faith, one doubt arose — what would be the effect upon the minds of men of divulging his discovery ? If the earth is not the centre of the Universe, what of the Incarnation ? As the Psalmist of old turned from the starry heavens to the divine law in a sublime sense of their correlation in purity and majesty, so the dying astronomer sets the universality of Christianity over against the infinitude of the skies.

“ The stars do this for man ;
They make infinitude *imaginable* ;
God, by our instincts felt as infinite,
When known, becomes such to our total being,
Mind, spirit, heart, and soul. The greater Theist
Should make the greater Christian.”

And the heart of the poem and the solution of the religious difficulty is given in these lines : —

“ This Earth too small
For Love Divine ! Is God not Infinite ?
If so, his love is infinite. Too small !
One famished babe meets pity oft from man
More than an army slain ! Too small for Love !
Was Earth too small to be of God created ?
Why then too small to be redeemed ?

.
“ Is not the Universe a whole ?
Doth not the sunbeam herald from the sun
Gladden the violet’s bosom ? Moons uplift
The tides : remotest stars lead home the lost :
Judæa was one country, one alone :
Not less Who died there died for all. The Cross
Brought help to vanished nations : Time opposed
No bar to Love : why then should Space oppose one ?

.
If Earth be small, likelier it seems that Love
Compassionate most and condescending most
To Sorrow’s nadir depths, should choose that Earth
For Love’s chief triumph, missioning thence her gift
Even to the utmost zenith.”

From this point of view, elevated as that from which the astronomer had surveyed the worlds in space, the Christian believer looks out upon the cycles of human history. With subtle insight he discerns the necessity, in a moral ordering of the world, of a gradual and adjusted bestowment of blessings.

“ Best gifts may come too soon.” . . .
.

"Sweetly and sagely

In order grave the maker of all worlds
Still undulates the rhythm of human progress ;
His angels on whose song the seasons float
Keep measured cadence : all good things keep Time
Lest Good should strangle Better."

The ages of Faith precede the age of Science, not because Science is to supersede faith, but because, as the apostle taught, knowledge without charity is but "sounding brass or a clanging cymbal"; a franchised mind, as our poet sees, requires a franchised soul; Christianity not only has prepared men for the triumphs of science, but enables them by its continuing spiritual power to gain these triumphs and not lose themselves.

The conclusion to which the musing astronomer comes is, trustingly and fearlessly to launch his book. The scholar, the thinker, the searcher after truth, must

"Work on and fear not !

Work, and in hope, though sin that hope may cheat."

There are retributive forces in store for those who abuse God's gifts, but the Tree of Knowledge will prove to be man's heritage, together with the Tree of Life.

The Poem has a noble close : —

"The stars ! Once more they greet me !

. . . Yon winter moon
Has changed this cell thick-walled, and iron-barred,
Into a silver tent. O light, light, light,
How great thou art ! Thou only, free of space,
Bindest the universe of God in one :
Matter, methinks, in thee is turned to spirit : —
What if our bodies, death subdued, shall rise
All light — compact of light !

.
The tide descends :

The caves send forth anew those hoarse sea-thunders
Lulled when full flood satiates their echoing roofs.
They tell me this, that God, their God, hath spoken
And the great deep obeys. That deep forsakes
The happy coasts where fishers spread their nets,
The fair green slopes with snowy flocks bespread,
The hamlets red each morn with cloaks of girls
And loud with shouting children. Forth he fares
To solitudes of ocean waste and wide
Cheered by that light he loves. I too obey :
I too am called to face the Infinite,
Leaving familiar things and faces dear
Of friends and tomes forth leaning from yon wall :
Me too the Uncreated Light shall greet
When cleansed to bear it. O how sweet was life !

How sweeter must have been had I been worthy —
Grant me Thy Beatific Vision, Lord :
Then shall these eyes star-wearied see and live ! ”

The most thoughtful poetry of our time is in accord with its deepest theology ; and the Universality of Christianity is the religious aspect and interpretation of the largest teaching Science is giving of Nature in the doctrine that the Universe is a Whole.

“CHANGES IN METHODS OF ADMINISTRATION” OF THE AMERICAN BOARD.

THE “Congregationalist,” in replying to the editorial question of the REVIEW, Does the American Board propose to continue its proscriptive policy ? specifies what in its opinion may not be, and what may be done. Of the “things which are very clear,” it says, “One is that the great majority of those who give to the treasury of the Board is unwilling that its money should be spent in teaching what it considers a loose theology, and will persistently disapprove of any action which may favor that, on the part of its officials.”

This, we suppose, means that the resolutions which committed the Board to theological partisanship will not be repealed at New York — a course which we ourselves do not anticipate as probable. It is so much easier in times of excitement to bring any large body into a false position than to extricate it. Even when the mistake is realized by some of those who may have led the way into it, few have the courage to retrace their steps. The usual course is to allow the ill-advised action to stand, and meanwhile try to devise some method by which its harmful workings may be relieved or neutralized.

“Another” (thing which is clear) it goes on to say, “is that the great majority of Christian people for whom the Board has been working is wholly unconvinced that because a council can be found to ordain here a man whose doctrinal position more or less differs from that of historic Congregationalism, it would necessarily, therefore, be either right or wise to send such a man to the unevangelized.”

This, we suppose, means that the Board will not attempt at its next meeting to reconsider the very decisive vote by which it denied the competency of councils to pass upon the theological qualifications of missionary candidates : and here again we should agree that such reconsideration is improbable. Doubtless the majority of the Board would prefer, so far as the practical alternative may present itself, to allow any churches within its constituency, which may be so disposed, to act for a time independently. The reply of the churches to the denial by the Board of the theological competency of councils was given in a dignified, but in a very positive manner, through the Council which ordained Mr. Noyes as a foreign missionary. And other replies of similar import may

be expected as often as occasion offers. Still we do not see how the Board can consistently reconsider its action in reference to councils, for that action was originally necessary, and remains necessary, as the complement and support of the assumption by the Board of theological functions. It would place the Prudential Committee in an awkward dilemma to enjoin upon them by resolution "unabated carefulness in guarding the Board from any approval of the doctrine of future probation," and at the same time allow the Committee to accept the advice of councils recommending candidates in sympathy with that hope.

So far, then, we agree with the predictions of our contemporary in regard to what is improbable, in the near action of the Board, as to any change in its present proscriptive policy. But having stated so clearly what may not be expected, it goes on to say: "On the other hand, . . . were the majority to be convinced that *any changes in methods of administration* would obviate serious difficulties now thought to exist, no doubt they might consent to them."

Precisely what the words which we have italicised are intended to mean we cannot determine. The whole paragraph seems to imply that the minority have some changes to suggest, to which the majority might on certain conditions be ready to "consent." We are not aware of any such purpose among the minority. As we said in our former article, the responsibility for the management of the Board is now entirely in the hands of the majority. It would be altogether an impertinence for the minority to propose "changes in the method of administration." The majority may fitly propose such changes as would in their judgment "obviate serious difficulties now thought to exist." And when proposed it can at once be seen whether they are sufficient to meet the present emergency.

Certain changes, however, of the kind referred to, namely, in the method of administration, have been already suggested, the working value of which may be a fair subject of discussion in advance of the meeting of the Board. We mention two or three in the way of illustration.

One change, of which we have heard the suggestion, and which we have reason to believe will be found necessary to preserve the present organization of the Board intact, is that of conferring some appropriate authority upon the Presidential office. At present the office is simply influential. And events continually prove how insignificant, at critical times, mere influence is when contrasted with actual power. A letter of advice is a very poor equivalent to a vote. When absolute authority is conferred upon a small body of men who have a distinct policy to carry out, it is for them to decide how much or how little heed they will give to influence from any quarter whatever. What is naturally wanted is the authority to enforce influence on the part of those with whom it has been vested, to the degree in which such persons are supposed

to have responsibility. For want of any such authority the position of the President of the Board must have been, one would think, embarrassing to the occupant, as it has certainly been misleading to the public. Let any one recall the public utterances of Dr. Hopkins at the meeting at Des Moines, or read his letter subsequent to that meeting upon occasion of the retirement of the Hon. Alpheus Hardy from the Prudential Committee, or let one go back and inquire into the extraordinary personal efforts which he made to modify the action of the Prudential Committee in the case of the first rejected candidates, and it will be seen of how little authority were the opinions and judgment and influence of Dr. Hopkins as President in determining the policy or directing the executive management of the Board. It is hardly necessary to ask how far his successor has been satisfied with the facilities which he has found at his disposal for bringing about the object for which, after much deliberation, he accepted the Presidency, namely, to effect an agreement between the two parties in the constituency of the Board. His letter of acceptance was interpreted as making for peace, and it is generally understood that his personal efforts have been toward the same end, but the management of the Board has been in no way, so far as the public can judge, affected by his relation to it. Indeed at no time has the Prudential Committee exhibited so determined and intolerant a spirit as during the past year.

We cannot, of course, say what effect a change in the Presidential office, such as that of making the President an *ex officio* member of the Prudential Committee, would have toward "obviating the serious difficulties now thought to exist." That would depend entirely upon the personality of the President. A man of deep missionary enthusiasms would have the opportunity of making his influence felt beyond his vote. But the change in itself seems to be one worthy of the consideration of the Board. If effected it would at least give unity to its public deliverances. At present there is constant confusion growing out of the variation between the semi-official utterances of the Board and its official actions. What is now needed more than anything else is perfect consistency in statement and action on the part of the majority. This is something which we think the minority has the right to ask, by whatever *method* those in control of the Board may think best to accomplish it.

Another proposed change in method is that of transferring the examination of candidates from the Home to the Foreign Department. The immediate occasion of this proposal seems to lie in the fact that it has of late fallen to the lot of the Foreign Secretaries to visit the more liberal seminaries of the denomination to present the claims of foreign missions. As would naturally be the case from their sense of the needs of the various fields, they have pressed the claims of the foreign service upon the students. And they have urged them to apply to the Board, assuring them of considerate and sympathetic treatment. But the students know perfectly that these assurances are personal and not official.

The door of entrance to the Board is well understood by them to be located on the other side of the house. They are familiar with the nature of the correspondence and examination which attend application to the Board, and with the general method of the presentation of cases. And they are not disposed to repeat the experience of applicants of former classes.

Would not, then, the proposed transfer, which may take advantage of the broader views and sympathies of the foreign secretaries, exactly meet this difficulty? We think not, for the very patent reason, that it would seem to the ingenuous minds of the applicants like "climbing up some other way" than that which the Board had carefully marked out. They recall the action of the Board in which it emphatically negatived the resolution of Professor Fisher, "That the missionaries of this Board shall have the same right of private judgment in the interpretation of God's word, and the same freedom of thought and speech, as are enjoyed by their ministerial brethren in this country," while passing the resolution, from which we have quoted, enjoining upon the Prudential Committee special carefulness in guarding the Board from those who were at that time exercising the right in question. Unless, therefore, such a transfer should be understood to imply a change of policy on the part of the Board equivalent to a change in its theological resolutions, we do not see why any student contemplating the missionary service should wish to take advantage of it, especially where direct and honorable ways of entrance upon his work are open to him from the churches.

The change in method which has been formally proposed and strongly advocated by some is that of the reorganization of the Board with the view of making it a representative body. We do not care to anticipate the discussion upon this proposal, which may take place at the meeting of the Board, for we do not see the practical bearing of the proposal upon present difficulties. The discussion, if it takes place, will be very interesting, especially as it may run out upon cross lines. It will be of interest, for example, to note what position the more zealous advocates of a stringent Congregationalism in Japan will take in the attempt to make the Board a truly Congregational body. But the reorganization of the Board according to Congregational principles can hardly be expected to be brought about in time to affect present issues. It can hardly be expected that the reorganization can be made thorough and comprehensive. And any change allowing a certain representation of the churches, but practically keeping the control of the Board for several years in the hands of the present corporation, would of course avail nothing in the immediate emergency. In fact, there is more danger that the discussion of this question will divert attention from the present difficulty, than that it will bring forth anything radical enough in its result to aid in solving it.

The present difficulty is a very simple, but a very obstinate one. It

has for some time amounted to a grievance. It is this. The American Board refuses to accept for its service candidates from the liberal seminaries of the Congregational denomination, who are in sympathy with the general teaching of those seminaries, though such candidates are freely accepted by every other benevolent organization in the denomination, and though they are continually endorsed by councils in every part of the country.

The "Congregationalist" proposes to remove this grievance, or, to use its own words, to "obviate serious difficulties now thought to exist," by changes in the methods of administration. We are not prepared to say that the much to be desired end cannot be accomplished in this way. Everything will depend upon the spirit and purpose of the majority. Their action at New York will show how seriously they are disposed toward conciliation. The minority do not ask the majority to recant. As we said at the outset we do not expect that they will immediately repeal their resolutions or reconsider their votes. We assume that whatever will be done, if anything of a conciliatory nature is attempted, will be done by indirect methods. But the methods if indirect must accomplish one thing, namely, the admission of young men of good theological standing in the denomination to the service of the Board: otherwise they accomplish nothing. Every one knows that this has been from the first the issue, and that it is still the issue. Let everything else be settled, including the whole question of reorganization, and then let some young man, holding for example the views of Mr. Noyes, apply to the Prudential Committee and be rejected, and instantly the controversy would burst out in redoubled heat. Indeed the present quiet is due simply to the fact that no test cases have come before the Prudential Committee since its rejection of Mr. Noyes: a fact which has suggested to the most thoughtful friends of the Board the very serious problem which now confronts it — how to regain the confidence of young men whose respect and affections it has alienated. And this in view of the extraordinary demands which in the wonderful providence of God are being made upon the Board. Probably the great missionary question which will come before the meeting at New York will be that of the evangelization of Japan. An appeal will doubtless be presented from the Japanese Mission which will arouse the missionary sentiment to the highest degree, and which will test the Board in its capacity, under its present policy, for furnishing men in numbers and in quality adequate to the emergency. The appeal will be heard by young men in the colleges and seminaries and by the churches. It will be for the Board to say whether the response shall be made through or outside its channels.

CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.

THAT Christianity in some form is to be the religion of Japan seems to be the opinion of most of the new leaders of thought in that empire. The chief question is whether it shall be a Christianity, if there be such a religion, devoid of supernaturalism, or historic Christianity. In a recent informal address by Mr. Kentaro Kaneko, Secretary of the Japanese Privy Council, before the officers of the American Unitarian Association, the speaker advocated Unitarianism as the form best adapted to the Japanese mind. As he said, speaking of the intellectual character of his people, "We have found nothing that seemed to be in advance of the Japanese except Unitarianism." Not that Unitarianism is really in advance of Buddhism; but that it has the advantage of Western enterprise and life, while Buddhism after its growth of a thousand years is decaying.

"The question then comes up, What is the difference between Buddhism in its highest state and Unitarianism? So far as I know, they are just the same. Then why should the Japanese give up Buddhism and take up Unitarianism, which has never grown in our country, while Buddhism has been growing a thousand years? That question will be answered by looking at the direction of the progress we are making. All our progress is coming from Europe and America. The civilization of Christendom is reaching high tide in our country. The great world-current is sweeping through Japan. The original Buddhism is not strong enough to resist that power. Religion must take the same direction, must follow the general tide of civilization; and therefore the Japanese can much more readily take Unitarianism, which comes from the West in the line of civilization, than to build up the old Buddhist doctrine it has had a thousand years. This form of Christianity has a very promising future there."

We were reminded upon reading these words of a very thoughtful book of some fifteen years ago, written by one then a minister of the "liberal faith," entitled "The Secret of Christianity." The argument of the book was that "the law of Christianity is that of antagonism. It opposes itself to the ruling tendency of the popular life; it seeks to reform, to regenerate. This simple law of antagonism has explained every important element of Christian civilization whether mediæval or modern. It is the real secret of Christianity." The writer drew his illustrations chiefly from the relations of Christianity to different forms of paganism, and as it seemed to us showed in a large way the truth of his position. And we are not now prepared to believe that Christianity will gain a race chiefly because it can be made to appear an easy fit to the current religious ideas. Christianity has not become the religion of successive races by adoption, but by some form of spiritual conquest. We fear the result of any other method than that of spiritual conquest, the taking possession of a race through its gift of that in which it is lacking. Why should Christianity be sent to a people as the simple equivalent of what

they have, only with more accomplishments in the sciences and philosophy? We believe, from such knowledge as we have gained from personal conversation with some of the more intelligent Japanese who have visited this country, that what the Japanese mind craves is not the present incidentals of Christianity, its immediate advantages over Buddhism, but its eternal verities. The Japanese mind is doubtless indifferent to ritual, unsusceptible to mere emotion, impatient of doctrinal refinements, but that it has a clear perception of spiritual Christianity, and that it is capable of responding to its personal claims with ardor and devotion, we cannot doubt with the evidence before us in the lives of some who have accepted the historic Christian faith.

And we find confirmation of this belief in the statement from which we quote of Dr. Greene, the oldest missionary of the American Board in Japan, in a recent letter to the "Boston Herald": —

"But it is said that these Christians are all from among the illiterate classes. This is a great mistake, for nearly fifty per cent. of all the church membership is made up from the old military class — the Samurai — to which nearly all of the present officers of the government belong. This class constitutes about 2,000,000, out of a total population of 39,000,000. The Japanese are an intensely religious people, and the educated Samurai share this element of the national character with their less educated countrymen of the lower classes. Mr. Kaneko, and probably many others, have, no doubt, come to reject entirely all supernaturalism in religion; but the great mass of the people, the high as well as the low, respond gladly to the preaching of the gospel. Not less than thirty students in the Imperial University are avowed Christians. Among the members of a single Congregational Church are a judge of the supreme court of Japan, a professor in the Imperial University, three government secretaries (holding a rank hardly, if any, inferior to Mr. Kaneko himself), members of at least two noble families; while in a Presbyterian Church are the three most prominent members of the Liberal party, one of them a count in the new peerage. Two influential members of the Legislature of the prefecture of Tokio, one of them the editor of the *Keizai Zasshi*, the ablest financial journal in Japan, are also members of a Congregational Church. In the prefectures of Kyoto and Ehime the Christians have two representatives in each local Legislature. In the prefecture of Gumma the president and vice-president and three other members of the Legislature are Christians, and in the executive committee, out of a total of five, three are Protestant Christians. So far from its being true, as you assume, that the missionaries have no more effect upon the influential classes than 'water on a duck's back,' it may be questioned whether in all its history Christianity has ever gained, in so short a time, a stronger hold upon the upper classes than in Japan during the past sixteen years. No man who looks below the surface can now ignore its influence upon Japanese society."

And as germane to the present comment we add the reply of Dr. Greene to the reflections of Mr. Kaneko upon the current teaching of Christianity in Japan: —

"It is asserted by Mr. Kaneko, that in the preaching of the missionaries

the emphasis is upon the 'damnatory part' of the Christian religion, while 'the positive truths which lift man up to God' are neglected. The exact reverse is the truth, so far as my observation goes, both as regards the missionaries and the native preachers. The missionaries, like most other Christians, believe in a future of rewards and punishments, and they believe, also, that man is saved through faith in Christ. They do not hesitate to teach those doctrines, but they teach, also, that salvation from sin is vastly more important than salvation from the penal consequences of sin, and that a faith which does not lead to Christlikeness is no faith at all. This view of faith has met with a wide acceptance among thoughtful men, and there never has been a time when the interest among such has been greater than now. The Japanese clergymen who serve as pastors of the city churches are well prepared to meet the brightest of these inquiring minds. They are omnivorous readers of the best theological and philosophical literature to be had in the English language. They have access, many of them, to nearly all the more prominent of the secular reviews of England and America. Several whom I might name are probably as familiar with the writings of Mill, Spencer, and Bain as the average graduate from the philosophical courses at Harvard University. They have fought their way to their present faith through long and painful conflicts. They know the worst that philosophic doubt has to suggest, and they rejoice, in spite of it, in what is to them a life-giving faith. Their faith is confirmed by what they see of the reforming power of Christianity in individuals and in society, for Japanese society has its dark as well as its bright and attractive side. Surely it cannot be denied that Christianity has its lesson for a people which has held, and but for Christianity would be still holding, to the patria potestas, with all its terrible fruits, for its fruits are even now terrible, as the writer knows from his own observations. Surely Christianity has something to teach as to the social position of women when divorces are over thirty per cent. of all marriages. Much as we lament the frequency of divorce in America (between four and five per cent. of all marriages in Massachusetts), we must not forget that this large increase during recent years is an evil incident to the growing appreciation of woman's place in society, while in Japan the frequency of divorce is due to the fact that she is the mere creature of her husband, with few rights which she can assert against his will.

"The Japanese Christians are grappling with these great questions with most encouraging success, and they have been largely instrumental in creating for the nation a new and better idea in the family. Their influence is further seen in the decline of intemperance and social immorality in the towns where churches are found. In one prefecture, that of Gumma, the Christians have exerted a profound influence upon local legislation."

"We missionaries are well aware that our teaching is but one of several channels through which the influence of Christianity is flowing out to Japan, and we acknowledge with gratitude whatever serves to hold up the Christian ideas of individual and social life. So far as our Unitarian friends go to Japan to take up the work of social reform with the earnestness and zeal manifested in other movements by so many of their faith, whose names we all hold in honor, we shall welcome their coming and bid them godspeed. There is a vast work to be done. Let them not depreciate the labors of others not less earnest, perhaps not less intelligent, than they. The very suddenness of the

change which has come over Japan has brought special dangers with it. Let none of us ignore these dangers, but meet them squarely, acknowledging their magnitude and our need of a wisdom which is near to humility."

A further communication, of very great interest, from Dr. Greene, may be found in the "Boston Evening Transcript" of Saturday, 28th September.

SOCIAL ECONOMICS.

THE OUTLINE OF AN ELECTIVE COURSE OF STUDY.

FOR the full outline, and for general authorities to be used under Section I, see January number, pp. 85, 86.

SECTION I. THE SOCIAL EVOLUTION OF LABOR.

Topic 10. *Wages and Profits.*

In tracing the Social Evolution of Labor we have marked the nature of the advance from slavery to serfdom, and from serfdom to the wage system. The school of Karl Marx denies the advance, affirming that the wage-earner is still the slave. There have been periods in the history of free labor, especially at the time of the introduction of machinery and the establishment of the factory system, when the denial was plausible. The chapter in "Capital" (Karl Marx), upon Machinery and Modern Industry, with its array of facts compiled chiefly from Parliamentary Reports, is a terrible indictment of the factory system in its earlier stages. But whether the present condition of the operative is due chiefly to economic or to political reasons, the advance is manifest. Doubtless much is due to the general progress in political freedom, an obligation which the intelligent observer specially acknowledges in behalf of the workingman of Switzerland and America. But in any fair estimate of the cause of the social advancement of the wage-earner, a great deal must be attributed to the industrial system itself; and this may be said in perfect consistency with the admission that the history of the system reveals great oppression, and that the system is still capable of tyranny and injustice. Industrialism has organized labor as well as capital, so that in so far as there is contention between the two, the contention is carried on upon terms which are growing more nearly equal. The wage-earner, in many departments of industry, has reached a position of comparative independence and power. The incidental questions affecting the health, comfort, and associations of the average operative have been settled or are in process of settlement by legislation. The remaining question to which no satisfactory answer has yet been given is that of the adjustment of Wages and Profits.

SUB-TOPICS, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCES.

1. *The parties immediately concerned with the adjustment of Wages and Profits — the capitalist, the manager, the wage-earner.*

Note the increasing importance of the manager, and the wages of management.

Principles of Political Economy. (Sidgwick.) Book ii., chap. 9, sec. 3.

The Wages Question. (Walker.) Chap. 14, on the Employing Class.

Principles of Political Economy. (Mill.) Book ii., chap. 3.

2. *Who is the Wage Earner? How may the wages class be discriminated from the labor class?*

The Wages Question. (Walker.) Chap. 12, on the Wages Class.

3. *The relation of the employed to the irregular worker and to the unemployed.*

Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes. (Levi.)

Life and Labor, East London, vol. i. (Booth.)

The Economics of Industry. (Marshall.) Book ii., chaps. 7 and 8.

4. *The sources of Profit.*

Manual of Political Economy. (Fawcett.) Book ii., chap. 5.

Capital. (Karl Marx.) Part III.

The Elements of Political Economy. (Laveleye.) Book iii., chaps. 8 and 9.

5. *What determines the rate of wages?*

Some Leading Principles of Political Economy. (Cairnes.) Part ii., chaps. 1 and 2.

Manual of Political Economy. (Fawcett.) Book ii., chap. 4.

Work and Wages. (Brassey.)

Six Centuries of Work and Wages. (Rogers.)

6. *Means of increasing the remuneration of labor.*

(1) By combinations among laborers.

Methods of Social Reform. (Jevons.) Pp. 110-120.

The Conflict of Capital and Labor. (Howells.)

Economics of Industry. (Marshall.) Book iii., chaps. 6 and 7.

Third Annual Report of the (U. S.) Commissioner of Labor, 1887. Strikes and Lockouts.

Some Leading Principles of Political Economy. (Cairnes.) Part ii., chapters on Trades Unionism.

(2) By industrial partnerships.

Methods of Social Reform. (Jevons.) Pp. 133-155.

Manual of Political Economy. (Fawcett.) Book ii., chap. 10, on Coöperation.

Profit Sharing between Employer and Employee. (Gilman.)

History of Coöperation. (Holyoake.) Andover Review, February, 1889.

Evolution of the Relation between Capital and Labor. (Adam Shortt.)

7. *The proposed abolition of wages through the change from the competitive system to the systems of Socialism.*

The Coöperative Commonwealth. (Gronlund.)

Social Problems. (Henry George.)

Principles of Political Economy. (Newcomb.) Pp. 512-525.

The Progress of the Working Classes in the last half Century. (Giffen.)

William Jewett Tucker.

ANDOVER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE BOOK OF PSALMS ; OR THE PRAISES OF ISRAEL. A new Translation, with Commentary. By the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M. A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, Canon of Rochester. 8vo, pp. xvii, 413. New York : Thomas Whittaker. 1888.

Canon Cheyne's translation of the Psalms, with brief notes, chiefly critical, was published in 1884 in the "Parchment Library," and was welcomed by scholars on both sides of the sea as having an aim and a place of its own. The changes which have been made in the present edition do not materially affect the style. The author recognizes that where a literary as well as a scholarly standard has been aimed at, it is desirable to exercise caution in alteration. In many particulars, however, the renderings have been improved, and as it now stands the translation more than ever deserves high praise for faithfulness and vigor. It puts new meaning into many passages whose familiar phrases have long spoken to the ear, not the sense, and will thus be helpful not only to intelligence but to devotion. That the new renderings should often jar on ears accustomed to the cadences of the old versions is inevitable. The new may be better, for all that. "Worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness," is an exhortation we do not like to miss ; yet the meaning it conveys to the English reader is not only foreign to the text and context, but lies quite outside the circle of the Psalmist's religious ideas. "Worship Jehovah in hallowed pomp," is much more commonplace, but it is just what the author says, and that is the first thing in translation. The first thing, not the only thing. The higher aim of the translator is to reproduce, as completely as possible, the impression which the original makes on one who is thoroughly familiar with the language. Often the literal translation of a figure produces in English a very different effect from that which the author intended. In such cases the higher faithfulness requires a freer treatment. In practice it is frequently very difficult to decide between the conflicting claims of fidelity to the letter and to the spirit. If Canon Cheyne errs, it is, as the scholar is prone to err, on the side of too great literalness. "My heart bubbles with goodly words," Psalm 45, 1, may be an exact equivalent of the Hebrew, though post-biblical usage makes this at least doubtful, but it is a figure which makes the impression of ingenious infelicity. Sometimes, too, consistency of rendering has dictated a word which is not the fittest in its context, as, for example, "thy club and shepherd's staff, they will comfort me," Psalm 23, 4. "Without flaw," may in many connections do very well for *tamím*, but "the God who . . . rendered my way flawless" is a collocation of words only the principle of uniformity could have suggested, and which itself has to be translated in the commentary. It must not be thought, however, that such examples represent the literary quality of the translation. The general level is high, and there are many striking and admirable renderings. Nothing could be better than Psalm 110, 3 : "All alacrity are thy people in the day of thy muster upon the holy mountains ;" or "Jehovah swears irrevocably," in the following verse. How much 114, 1, gains by the use of just the right word for *lócēz* ! "When Israel went forth out from Egypt, the house of Jacob from a barbaric people," etc. But I may not multiply instances.

One of the features of Professor Cheyne's Psalms is the treatment of the text. The Hebrew text of the Psalter, like that of other books of the Old Testament, has suffered much from accidents of transmission. There are only too many places which a scholar with a grammatical conscience can hardly translate at all. Text criticism must therefore go hand in hand with exegesis. Often, unfortunately, there is no remedy but conjecture, and nobody need tell the critic how uncertain that is. But at the worst it is better than the alternative, which is to guess at the meaning from the context and force it on the text by grammatical violence or etymological subtleties. The author has worked on this principle. Where the text seems irremediable he has sometimes indicated this by asterisks, but when a probable emendation offered itself he has generally adopted it. The Critical Notes, pages 369-406, render account of the departures from the received text, and often give a review of the history of criticism in important and difficult passages. Workers in the same field will appreciate the wealth of material which is here laboriously and discriminatingly gathered from many and often remote sources. In the translation itself there is nothing to show where Professor Cheyne has felt constrained to abandon the Massoretic text. This is, I think, a mistake. It may indeed be said that the scholar does not need to be told, and that the English reader would be no wiser for being told, so that it is unnecessary to disfigure the page or disturb the reader's enjoyment by critical signs. But, apart from all other considerations, there are many ministers and students of theology who would like to read the Hebrew with this commentary, to whom the difficulty of making out the relation of the translation to the text will be a constant hindrance.

To the translation of each Psalm is now prefixed a brief introduction, in which we get the author's conception of the Psalm as a whole, and much beside that is helpful to understanding and appreciation. Critical questions are in principle reserved for another volume, a companion to "Job and Solomon," which will be awaited with interest. But it is happily impossible to be quite consistent in this separation of criticism from exegesis, and the reader will have little difficulty in discovering Canon Cheyne's opinion on the chief issues of Psalm criticism. As regards the age of the Psalms, he records in the Introduction his judgment that Ewald's list of eleven Davidic Psalms is "the most conservative view of the headings at present tenable." The word Davidic, he says elsewhere, "becomes to us a symbolic term for vigour and originality of style." I infer from the special introductions that he recognizes in most of the Psalms the type of post-exilic piety, to use Stade's words, and in some of them more distinctly the situation of later times. Another point is of more consequence for the interpretation. The Psalter is "a collection of liturgical forms in which, in trouble and in joy, the Jewish Church embodied its praiseful prayers and prayerful praise." With Olshausen and Reuss, to whom must now be added the names of Stade¹ and Smend,² he regards the Jewish Church as the real subject of the Psalms, even of such as seem to bear most distinctly the stamp of individual experience. He does not, indeed, exclude the individual element; sometimes he leaves the question open; sometimes he adopts a mediating hypothesis.

¹ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II., 212 ff.; cf. ANDOVER REVIEW, Sept. 1889, p. 333.

² *Zeitschrift für die älteste Wissenschaft*, 1888, 49-147.

In Psalm 6, for example, the speaker is either the pious Israelite personified, or a representative righteous man who feels the sins and sufferings of his people as his own. In Psalm 23 a national element cannot be denied; the shepherd's tending is, no doubt, for the sake of His name (Jehovah, Israel's God), as Olshausen urged; v. 1 reminds us of the references to Jehovah's flock in Asaphite Psalms, as well as of Deut. 2, 7; the foes in v. 5 may well be national foes. "Still the national and the personal elements cannot be disovered by most potent analysis." "The speaker is any pious Israelite in whose mind both national and personal hopes and fears rest side by side." Psalm 22 "is most probably a description, under the form of a dramatic monologue, of the ideal Israelite, called by a kindred writer 'the covenant of the people,' and 'the light of the nations' (Is. 42, 7), who shall rise out of the provisional church-nation, and, identifying himself with it, lead it on to spiritual victory." Those who are familiar with the author's Isaiah will recognize here the theory of the "Servant of Jehovah" which he has there defended. But the Psalms which are most closely akin to 22 are, as far as I see, consistently interpreted of the people. Compare the introductions to Psalms 38; 40; 41; 102. Apparently 69 is understood in the same way. In 35 "it may be safer to regard the individualizing features as poetical ornament."

The commentary is compact, but full of matter. Its strongest side, perhaps, is the way in which it makes the Psalter explain itself, by comparing one part with another. The reader who will work through the references here given will find them rich in instruction and suggestion. The wealth of illustrative material which the author's wide and varied reading puts at his command, is employed as in his other works, with tact and reserve. Brief as it is, this volume is one of the most valuable helps to the understanding of the Psalms which we have, and is to be heartily commended to every one who wishes to enter more deeply into the sense and the spirit of a book which is not only a monument of Jewish piety, but a classic of Christian devotion.

G. F. Moore.

Impressions of Russia. By Dr. Georg Brandes. Translated from the Danish by Samuel C. Eastman. Pp. x, 353. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 13 Astor Place. 1889.—Dr. Brandes seems to know Russia better than if he were a Russian. He can objectify it as they cannot. He dwells on its vastness, its uniformity, the extraordinary passiveness of its people and their receptiveness, underneath which there is an unconquerable originality; on their weakness of will and faithfulness to ideals, till they come out before us in something like intelligibility. The two fundamental institutions, he says, are the absolute control of the Czar and community of landed property in the Mir. The former is in danger, the latter is even yet encroaching on individual ownership. He brings out very vividly the extreme severity of the climate even in the south, and the powerful effects of this in intensifying the national character. A Russian, if conservative, is the intensest of absolutists; if radical, is what we all know. The extraordinary freedom in the relations of the sexes in the cultivated classes is brought out fully, but is vindicated from the charge of sensual brutality. Russia is described as a land where the will always sinks overpowered, and where

hopeless melancholy is the keynote of life. All this is illustrated by her writers. Pushkin, Gogol, Shevtchenko, Turgenief, Dostoyevski, Tolstoi, Derzhavin, Zhukovski, Lomonósov, the founder of the modern literature, are all penetratingly described. The author's frank antichristianity and his contempt of the distinction between good and evil, except as a superficial accident, render him peculiarly at home in this land of tyranny, superstition, and pessimism.

The People's Bible: Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By Joseph Parker, D. D., Minister of the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, London. Vol. VIII. I Kings XV. I Chronicles IX. Pp. vii, 360. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 18 and 20 Astor Place. 1888. — These homiletic comments, altogether practical, developed with a lively fancy and keen regard to life, are often connected with the sacred narrative by somewhat elongated threads. But the threads do not snap; the reference to the meaning of the narrative is always there. Of course they are not like the reproductions of Robertson, who has taken the inmost meaning of the Biblical narrative into his inmost soul, and gives it out, it is hard to say whether with more faithfulness or more freedom. But they are agreeable and profitable reading, and would be exceeding agreeable to hear. People who do not read sermons could easily read these.

The Second Book of Samuel. By the Rev. Professor W. G. Blaikie, D. D., LL.D., New College, Edinburgh. Pp. viii, 400. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 714 Broadway. — Thirty-two chapters, essentially homiletical, on the history of David. Grave and solid, and not simply attached to the history of David, but actually deduced from it. He attaches various Psalms to conjunctures of David's life somewhat contemptuously of prevailing criticism, but may say at least that they are applicable, whether that was their original application or not. The point of view is the elder one, but it makes full account of the truth that the least in the kingdom of the Son of David is greater than David, as to the standard of faith and conduct available to him.

Romanism versus the Public School System. By Daniel Dorchester, D. D. Pp. 351. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1888. — This is a book intensely polemical in spirit, but dignified in tone, and written with an evident endeavor to be as nearly impartial as is possible to the author's ecclesiastical position. It is not, however, what we need, a pellucid compilation of the *acta* of the long controversy. Probably only a layman, of some such position as that of Dr. W. T. Harris, would be adequate to that. But it is a useful book, and gives a great deal of very desirable information. The author is doubtless quite right in stating that the Latin Church cares little to educate the masses, and that if there were no public schools here there would probably be few parochial schools. Concerning the rulings in Ohio and some States still farther West, which virtually shut out God and Christ altogether from the public schools, he is silent, since they shut out the Pope also. Into the profound truths which are inextricably interwoven with unendurable hierarchical pretensions over education, the author does not even make an effort to look. But of the scandalous way in which Catholic bigotry is sometimes encountered by Protestant unfairness, he has a strong sense, and manfully expresses it. We are sure, however, that his proposal to compel all children under fourteen to attend the public schools will never commend itself to an uninflamed American sense of personal and parental right.

The book always misspells "Brownson" "Bronson," and has one slip of "most reverend apostle" for "most reverend archbishop."

The Tests of the Various Kinds of Truth. By James McCosh, D. D., LL.D., D. L. Second Series. Pp. 132. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1889. \$0.70. — These lectures before the Ohio Wesleyan University touch upon the nature and differences of Ultimate, Deductive, and Inductive Truth, and upon the joint application of the two last. The last lecture inquires whether there is testimony to prove the supernatural, and answers affirmatively. The distinguished author rejects the assumption that there is one genetic principle of knowledge or one exhaustive criterion of truth, but proceeds to show that there are both principles and tests sufficient to give us a sufficient affluence and certainty for all our present essential requirements. He puts Deduction lower than Mill, but allows its value, especially in combination. He is very sarcastic upon the German philosophers from Spinoza to Von Hartmann, but allows that there is something in most of them after all. The question of Universals he settles very sensibly by the position: "Universalis in particularibus." The treatment of testimony to the Supernatural is sound, but not particularly striking. His statement that ghost-stories are against the analogy of nature, and therefore undeserving of attention, may be questioned. Many of them have excellent evidence, and so strong-headed a man as Isaac Taylor believes them to be according to the analogy of nature. They are less worthy of attention than the miracles of Jesus only because they amount to so little. As Isaac Taylor says, their only value seems to be that they keep up a dim sense of things unseen in the general mind.

Christian Education. By Rev. Daniel Curry, LL.D. First Series. Pp. 131. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1889. \$0.70. — A pleasant series of five lectures, delivered before the Ohio Wesleyan University. They are: (1) Introductory and General; (2) Character and Capabilities of Christian Education; (3) Its Purpose; (4) Lions in the Way; (5) Character-Making. Dr. Curry by no means follows those superserviceable clergymen who are so anxious to prove to Antichrist that they have nothing against his assuming the charge of our national education. He affirms that the dread of "godless schools" is far from being a vain cry.

Living Questions: Studies in Nature and Grace. By Warren Hathaway, Pastor at Blooming Grove, New York. Pp. 365. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1889. — Seventeen Sermons on various Biblical and doctrinal topics, such as The Guiding Hand, God Revealed, A Royal Sensualist, The Vine and the Branch, etc. They are fresh and sound, elastic in their theology, but thoroughly centred in the Scriptures and in Christ. The two sermons on The Real Issue are a vigorous following up of the Protean attempts of atheism to compel the great truth of Evolution to yield atheistic results which are not inherent in it, but which it must be dragooned into yielding if it is to retain any value in the eyes of a large proportion of its advocates, who are thereby shown to be simply atheistic theologians in masquerade.

John the Baptist, the Forerunner of our Lord: His Life and Work. By Ross C. Houghton, D. D. Pp. 372. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1889. \$1.50. — An agreeable, somewhat diffuse, popular biography of the Baptist, with quite a full presentation of the illustrative and confirmatory literature. The sarcastic

comments on Roman Catholic relic-worship with which it concludes form a rather undignified anti-climax. This "hall-mark" of the author's standing, perhaps, could not be spared, but might have done better in another place. The author himself seems to lean a little to the evident invention of Salome's retributive form of death. The print of Jesus' baptism represents him and John, as they probably should be, both in the water, about to give and receive an immersion. Perhaps John did not ordinarily plunge his candidates in person, but he doubtless did the Saviour.

The Progress of Religious Freedom as shown in the History of Toleration Acts. By Philip Schaff, D. D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1889. Pp. vi, 126. — This clearly printed and clearly presented brochure — first read before the C. H. Society — emphasizes the important distinction, that America has passed far beyond Toleration, while Europe, in form and largely in fact, still maintains the theory that freedom of dissenting worship is only a concession. It might have been added, that France is beginning to treat liberty of worship in general as a concession, which she would like to revoke but does not quite dare.

The author brings out the two unhappy gradations by which those two great men, Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, committed the Latin Church to persecution, Ambrose and Alcuin representing the purer Christian feeling. It might have been well to point out that Rome has always denied that she has jurisdiction over the unbaptized, and that, as Neander shows, she did her best in the Middle Ages to protect the Jews. It is curious that this simple distinction has, as the "Nation" has pointed out, misled Mr. Lea into reproaching her with inconsistency. A pretty serious crack in his great work on the Inquisition, not to have apprehended this vital position.

Is it true that the Orthodox persecutions of the Arians compared in violence with those of the Orthodox by the Arians? We have not so understood from Gibbon.

Dr. Schaff is justly severe upon the reluctance of the Protestants to cease persecuting. He gives Frederick the Great no more praise than his due, but might perhaps have mentioned that, in the previous century, the sincerely religious Emperor Maximilian II. had been equally firm in his refusal to persecute either Protestants or Jesuits. The author rightly makes the Edict of Nantes the centre of his book, from its promulgation to its revocation. These few pages are a brilliant portraiture and vindication of the Huguenot Church, and will leave on the mind in ineffaceable vividness the varied abominations of the dragonnades. Every Protestant ought to know them, not to inflame his bigotry, but to kindle his thankfulness that there has been such a church, and that, driven abroad like the first disciples, she is still working in many lands, above all in ours. Those of us who are proud, not of one, but of many lines of Huguenot blood in our veins, owe him proportional thanks for having brought this great history into so intense a focus.

Dr. Schaff remarks that Leo XIII. is enlightened, moderate, and prudent, but maintains the unchangeable Roman theory of the duty of the state to coerce all the disobedient children of the Church. But, as he points out, theories must bend to facts, and however it may be with Rome, Catholicism in America is undergoing an essential transformation in this respect, which the Doctor declares to be admirably illustrated in Cardinal Gibbons.

Scriptures, Hebrew and Christian. By Edward T. Bartlett, A. M., and John P. Peters, Ph. D. Vols. I. and II., pp. xii, 545; xi, 569. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1886, 1888. — This joint work of the Dean of the Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia and the Old Testament professor is especially arranged for the benefit of young readers, as an introduction to the study of the Bible. Beginning with the Creation, it goes through the history of Israel to the Captivity, giving the marrow of the story in such narrations as appear to have lived in the mouths of the people, but omitting everything which appears to belong to the work of literary redaction. Such ancient documents, especially songs, as the editors judge contemporary, they give *in situ*, including the Ten Commandments. To David they attribute, in order, the Eighth, Nineteenth (first part), Twenty-ninth, Seventh, Twenty-fourth, Thirty-second, Eighteenth, and Third Psalms, as well as the Last Words, and the Elegy over Saul and Jonathan. We would raise, however, a hesitating question, in the name, not of the Higher, but of the Superlative Criticism, respecting the last. Is it not too completely Davidian to be acknowledged genuine, too thoroughly consonant with David's enthusiastic character in friendship, war, and national feeling, too absolutely agreeable to its hitherto undisputed authorship in its tone, occasion, objects, and allusions, to be received? Such is the way that certain great authorities seem to reason.

The second volume opens with the Psalms of rage and despair, intermingled with the prophecies of vengeance and restoration, and the narratives of the Return, with the Psalms and Prophecies of Reëdification. The 119th Psalm, as the Praise of the Law, introduces the Law, the Book of the Covenant, the Little Book of the Covenant, the Eight Levitical Codes, the Deuteronomic Code, in its Seven Parts, and the Levitical Ritual. Then follow, as Hebrew Tales, those narratives of Ruth, Elijah and Elisha, and Jonah, which do not so immediately belong in the annals, but which the editors declare to be in no way less historical on this account. These are immediately followed, perhaps too immediately, by the Danielic narratives. Then come, intermingled in a somewhat difficult sequence, various prophecies of Micah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Zechariah; then, as Hebrew Poetry, a large selection of Psalms, and, as Hebrew Wisdom, various Proverbs. Lastly comes the great poem of Job, enriched by the omission of Elihu's interpolated speech.

Younger and older readers, who use the book, will certainly apprehend by means of it that there is life and various development in the history of Israel, and that the revelation of God was accomplished through the deep interaction of human personalities and relations. After reading it they would never be able to reduce the Old Testament again to the dead level of a Koran.

Charles C. Starbuck.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Harald Höffding, Professor an der Universität in Kopenhagen. *Ethik. Eine Darstellung der Ethischen Prinzipien und deren Anwendung auf besondere Lebensverhältnisse. Unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers aus dem Dänischen übersetzt von F. Bendixen.* Pp. xiv, 492. Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland). Mrk. 10. — "If one views from a distance the snow-clad mountains they seem to be suspended in the air, but as one comes nearer it is evident that they stand upon strong and solid foundations. It is even so with ethical principles. . . . It has been my task in this work to point out what ethical foundations there are, whence they spring, and what application they find in the most important relations of life. Practical experience and theoretical investigation have ever deepened my conviction that ethical principles — the basis and rule of all judgment concerning good and evil — have their origin in the nature and relations of men themselves, without being dependent upon any other authority. I have here made the attempt to establish and carry out this conviction." Dr. Höffding, while he finds all the material of ethics in man, expects that ethics will come to scientific character by means of the objective method. Bentham's failure to see how a subjective principle forms the supposition of an objective is avoided. It is clearly shown how all ethical judgments and objective method must fall back upon a subjective foundation. "Every principle of ethical judgment rests upon determined psychological, historical suppositions." The aim and content of ethics is that conduct which is consciously directed "for the greatest possible welfare and progress of the greatest possible number." The author discriminates between theological and Christian ethics. "Christianity began not with a theological system any more than with a church organization, . . . Christianity contains only two principles, faith and love." "All Ethics is practical idealism. It supposes that we set for ourselves a goal; but a goal is no being, but an actual obligation." The treatise falls into three chief divisions: first, an exposition of ethical principles and problems, pages 1-124; second, individual ethics, pages 124-182; and, third, social ethics, pages 182-484. The relative importance which Dr. Höffding attaches to social ethics is indicated in this division. After a special introduction to this department, the Family is made the subject of a careful study, pages 192-251. The ethical meaning and natural form of the family, marriage and divorce, the position and relations of the wife, of parents and children in the family and in the state, are suggestively handled. In the second division, where the author treats of the different forms of social culture, we find a clearness and fullness truly gratifying. Social laws are brought to bear upon social questions with excellent effect. The material, intellectual, æsthetic, and religious forms of culture are characteristically distinguished and comparatively estimated. The relations of religion and philanthropy are cleared with special fullness. Under the third division, the State, pages 396-484, are reviewed the important topics, people and state, law and morality, the ethical significance of the state, the jurisdiction of the state, and the constitution of states. In conclusion, pages 482-484, we are reminded that "the whole exposition of ethics which is here given rests directly upon the supposition that there is in human nature a uni-

versal power and disinterested sympathy," and that "the doctrine of development has shown that it is possible for us to join our realism with the idealism of our predecessors if we give heed to the rule, be full of enthusiasm for the greatest things and thoroughly true in the smallest." The work is indispensable to the student of sociology. We are informed, in the preface, that the German translation is superior to the original by reason of many alterations and additions.

Wolf Wilhelm Grafen Baudissin, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Marburg. *Die Geschichte des Alttestamentlichen Priestertums*. Pp. xv, 312. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel. Mrk. 7. — We are here furnished with a masterly review of the content of the thought and life of Israel in the light of the history of its Priesthood. Notwithstanding the vast bibliography of the Old Testament, there are not more than three or four works that even attempt a survey of the religion of the old covenant from a sacerdotal standpoint. Professor Baudissin has a thorough appreciation of the worth and worthlessness of the priesthood in relation to the value of the Old Testament as a whole. The legitimate questions in this department concern neither the foundations nor superstructure of the Old Testament verities, but belong rather to that movable furniture and ornamentation that appear much the same in any building whatsoever. Yet, the disposal and arrangement of this furniture, if accurately ascertained, will give much light on the form of life and thought in Israel. The work opens with a five-page list of the literature of the subject, beginning with De Wette's "Introduction to the Old Testament," and concluding with the publications of 1888. The author, finding much confusion and little agreement in the views of Reuss, Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen, has adopted the admirable method of first succinctly stating his propositions and then critically examining them. The eight chapters which constitute the work are as follows: the priesthood according to the priestly documents of the Pentateuch, and according to Jehovistic books; the priesthood according to Deuteronomy, — Joshua, — Ezekiel, — Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah; the priesthood according to the old historical books, and the prophetic and poetic writings; and, finally, an excellent summary of the historical results. The indexing of the book is complete. There was no regular priesthood before the time of Moses, but from the time of the sojourn in the wilderness it is a prominent institution in Israel. The author makes use of whatever light is helpful in making his exposition clear, and Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Assyria furnish their shares. "The Deuteronomic law, carrying in its language and especially in its theologic character the impress of the period of Jeremiah, is that same law, which according to 2 Kings xxii. was found in the temple and publicly made known by Josiah. The reform which Josiah was able to carry on by promulgating this law was the making current of the actual motive principles of Deuteronomy."

Geschichte der Ethik in der Neueren Philosophie. Von *Friedrich Jodl*, Professor an der Universität zu Prag. Erster Band; pp. xi, 446. Mrk. 8. Zweiter Band; pp. xiii, 608. Mrk. 10. Stuttgart: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung. — This work is undoubtedly the most important contribution to the history of modern ethics that has yet appeared. The first volume, published six years ago, carried the history to the end of the eighteenth century. The second part, which now appears, brings the history to our own generation. One of the excellent features of the work is that the author has not attempted too much, but

confines himself strictly to the main current, holding before us throughout the main problems of ethics. The task of ethics is twofold. The first concerns itself with the question, What is morality? and seeks, by collation and comparison of ethical experience, a definition and, by idealizing these experiences, to gain a norm. The other is concerned with the question: How does morality originate, out of what limitations of natural circumstances, and under what conditions of human nature does morality arise? These problems are thought to constitute the territory of ethical investigation, and with this idea of his task Professor Jodl prosecutes his history. The history thus confined to the inductive method may be called the history of philosophical ethics. Thus we have a pretty clear and well-beaten path through philosophy, whether it leads anywhere or not. The second excellency of the author's work is his method of division and distribution. On the one hand, the philosophy of ethics is so far isolated that, at all points, its relation to metaphysics, theology, and psychology is clearly shown, and, on the other, the method of continuity is so far set aside that the various schools of ethics, in their development and national characteristics, do not fall into that dismal, monotonous mush that is so often mixed in the name of evolution. Throughout, the historic and systematic methods are so united as to hold interest and give definite instruction. Again, we must notice that the author seems to have no pets either to nurse or defend. There is an absence of that party spirit which has vitiated so much so-called history of thought, and turned it over into the field of apologetics. When we consider the chaos of contradictions through which the historian of ethical theory must move, and that this is the first attempt on the part of a German to treat systematically modern English and French ethics, we are impressed with the success attained and the general fairness of judgment. The first volume opens with a review of Greco-Roman ethics, pages 1-37, and of Christian ethics, pages 37-85. The idea of these two chapters is to form an historical introduction by an exposition of those principles that usher in the modern ethics. The third chapter treats of the beginnings of modern ethical philosophy as they arose out of the resistance offered to the consensus of all religious creeds, that without religious faith and obedience there was no salvation, no moral advance for man. It is strange that Charron, Bacon, and Grotius should be the first significant exponents of such an issue. From this point on the author follows his method of grouping. Thus we have Hobbes and his opponents, the Cambridge school and Cumberland; Locke and his opponents, Clarke and Shaftesbury. In the sixth chapter we have the English Utilitarians and the strong echo of intellectualism through Price, and in the seventh chapter a review of the Scottish school of the eighteenth century. Of the remaining four chapters two are given to the growth of skepticism in France, and one each to Spinoza and Leibnitz. The second volume begins with Kant, who was the first who succeeded in thinking in the German language. The first part of the volume is given to Germany, and treats in successive chapters the ethics of the categorical imperative, of Schiller, of Fichte, the speculative idealism of Krause and Hegel, the ethical systems of Baader, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Herbart, Schopenhauer, Beneke, and Feuerbach. The second part is a history of French ethics as represented by Cousin, Jouffroy, Proudhon, and Comte. The ethico-religious problem in France is studied in its spiritualistic, positivistic, and atheistic aspects. The third book opens with a presentation of

the general characteristics of English philosophy in the nineteenth century, and divides the history between the intuitionists and the utilitarians. The work closes with a chapter on the ethico-religious problem in England. We know of no handbook on this subject that is of equal value, nor any book likely to be more serviceable to the student of ethical philosophy. The value of the work is enhanced by the copious notes appended to each volume. Taken together, they constitute 192 pages of valuable reference and illustration.

Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur. VI. Band. Heft 1. *Die Texteüberlieferung der Bücher des Origenes gegen Celsus in den Handschriften dieses Werkes und der Philokalia.* Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe. Von Dr. Phil. Paul Koetschau. Pp. viii, 157. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Mrk. 5.50. — The author has gathered from the libraries of Germany, and those of Paris, Rome, and Venice, an immense amount of material which he has here presented in a condensed and orderly form. As indicated, the purpose is to open the way to a critical edition of the works of Origen. It is thought that a correct text of the books of Origen *vs.* Celsus is obtainable only through a critical study of the tradition of Philokalia which must assist the judgment in determining the traditional element in the former work. It is also supposed that a critical edition of the larger work would furnish a basis for the reproduction of "ἀληθὺς λόγος." The present work is done under the three following heads: the MSS. of the books of Origen *vs.* Celsus, the MSS. of Origen's Philokalia, and the direct and indirect MS. tradition of the books against Celsus. The author concludes that it is quite possible to reproduce critically the original text of the eight books of Origen *vs.* Celsus. A list of all the mentioned MSS., with an elaborate scheme of their origins, dates, and relations, is subjoined.

Das Wesen der Religion. Zur Orientirung für angehende Theologen, dargeboten von Friedrich Lillie. Pp. v, 123. Hannover: Hau'sche Buchhandlung. Mrk. 3. — Theologians and teachers will find in this little book a very pleasant and profitable companion. The six chapters which constitute the work show a discussion of the following topics: Religion and religions, the origin of religion and its development, the peculiar character of religion, revelation and reason, religion and science, and religion and morality. The purpose of the book is to show what the true essence of religion is, and what is the relation of religion to science, philosophy, and ethics, and, particularly, to the life that is. The spirit in which the work is done is well expressed in the famous phrase: "In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas."

Das Nachgespräch Jesu mit dem Nikodemus. Von Prof. Dr. Steinmeyer. Pp. vi, 135. Berlin: Verlag von Wiegandt und Grieben. Mrk. 2. — Another of those thorough Biblical studies for which Professor Steinmeyer has become so justly celebrated. The introduction is a study of "the visit from the side of the Pharisees," "the reception from the side of the Lord," and "the problems of the conversation." Then follow the three chapters: "Jesus and Nicodemus," "Christ and his Community," and "the Lord and his Servant." All is found to centre upon the one fundamental thought of Christianity; faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God.

Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons. Von Prof. Dr. Theo. Zahn. Erster Band: Das Neue Testament vor Origenes. Zweite

Hälfte. Pp. 518. Mrk. 12. *Einige Bemerkungen zu Adolf Harnack's Prüfung der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*. Erster Band. Erste Hälfte. Von Theo. Zahn. Pp. 37. Pf. 60. *Anonymus Adversus Aleatores* (gegen das Hazardspiel), und die *Briefe an Cyprian, Lucian, Clerinus und an den Karthaginiensischen Klerus* (Cypr. Epist. 8. 21-24). Kritisch verbessert, erläutert und ins Deutsche übersetzt von Dr. Adam Miodouski. Mit einem Vorworte von Prof. Eduard Wölfflin. Pp. 128. Erlangen und Leipzig: Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme). Mrk. 1.80. — In this second part of his work Professor Zahn pursues the same cautious, scholarly course which we have noticed in the first part. While there is a careful exclusion of all dogmatic and semi-visionary inference, all questions relevant to an understanding of canonical history are, in their places, thoroughly discussed. We notice in the present volume a full treatment of the use and authority of the apostolic writings in the doctrines of the church and of the heretics about the middle of the second century, pp. 453-796, and also the origin of the first collections, pp. 797-968. In the above noticed pamphlet Dr. Zahn takes occasion to reply to certain strictures imposed upon his first volume by Dr. Harnack, whose polemic followed as closely as thunder upon lightning, so closely, Dr. Zahn remarks, that one may suppose the lightning struck somewhere. Taking a pretty large territory as the domain of Christian discussion, it is not at all clear that Professor Harnack's basis of supplies lies wholly within this field. Nevertheless, the majority of the differences which we have observed have in the main, like the thunder and lightning, their origin and end in the clouds. Dr. Miodouski investigates anew the anonymous polemic against gambling which Dr. Harnack has attributed to the Roman Bishop Victor I. of the second century. It is strongly argued that neither a Roman nor a Bishop nor the second century had anything to do with this writing, but that its date of composition was the third century, and its author, perhaps an African, unknown. Dr. Zahn supposes the author "a Roman Bishop of the third century, whose name we do not know." Professor Funk places the homily in the second half of the third century. Professor Wölfflin thinks the author learned his Latin from Cyprian, and patterned him; while others still regard Cyprian as the veritable author of the tract. The work is a very excellent and well-conducted study.

Mattoon M. Curtis.

FRIEDRICHRODA i. Thür.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston and Chicago.
 Asa Turner. A Home Missionary Patriarch and his Times. By George F. Magoun, D. D., First President of Iowa College. Introduction by A. H. Clapp, D. D. Pp. 345. \$1.75; — Notes on Difficult Passages of the New Testament. By Elias Riggs, D. D., LL. D., Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. Pp. 259. \$1.25; — The Childhood of Jesus, and other Sermons. By Adolphe Monod. Translated by Rev. J. H. Myers. Pp. 196. Paper 40 cents; cloth, 60 cents.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. American Religious Leaders. Jonathan Edwards. By Alexander V. G. Allen, D. D., Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass. Pp. xi, 401. 1889. \$1.25; — American Statesmen. Benjamin Franklin. By John T. Morse, Jr., author of "Life of John Adams," "Life of John Quincy Adams," "Life of Thomas Jefferson," etc. Pp. vi, 426. 1889. \$1.25.

Ginn & Company, Boston and London. College Series of Greek Authors. Edited under the supervision of John Williams White and Thomas D. Seymour. Euripides, Iphigenia among the Taurians. Edited by Isaac Flagg. Pp. 197. 1889. Mailing price, \$1.50; — Library of Anglo-Saxon Poetry. Vol. III. Elene, An Old English Poem. Edited, with Introduction, Latin Original, Notes, and Complete Glossary, by Charles W. Kent, M. A. (*U. of Va.*), Ph. D. (*Leipsic*), Professor of English and Modern Languages in the University of Tennessee. Pp. vi, 149. 1889. Mailing price, 65 cents; — Elene; Judith; Athelstan, or the Fight at Brunansburh, and Byrhtnoth, or the Fight at Maldon: Anglo-Saxon Poems. Translated by James M. Garnett, M. A., LL. D., Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of Virginia, translator of "Beowulf." Pp. xvi, 69. 1889. Mailing price, \$1.00; — The Irregular Verbs of Attic Prose, their Forms, Prominent Meanings, and Important Compounds; together with Lists of Related Words and English Derivatives. By Addison Hogue, Professor of Greek in the University of Mississippi. Pp. xii, 268. 1889. Mailing price \$1.60; — Les Trois Mousquetaires. Par Alexandre Dumas. Edited and annotated, for use in Colleges and Schools, by F. C. Sumichrast, Assistant Professor of French in Harvard University. Pp. vi, 289. 1889. 80 cents.

A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. Systematic Theology. A Compendium and Commonplace-Book, designed for the use of Theological Students. By Augustus Hopkins Strong, D. D., President and Professor of Biblical Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Pp. xxiii, 760. 1889. \$5.00; — The Expositor's Bible. The Book of Revelation. By William Milligan, D. D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen; author of "The Resurrection of our Lord," etc. Pp. viii, 392. \$1.50. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston; — The Epistles of St. John. Twenty-one Discourses, with Greek Text, Comparative Versions and Notes, chiefly Exegetical. By William Alexander, D. D., D. C. L., Brasenose College, Oxford, Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. Pp. xiv, 309. \$1.50. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston; — The Sermon Bible. Vol. III. Psalm lxxvii. to Song of Solomon. Pp. 476. 1889. \$1.50. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston.

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York and Boston. Impressions of Russia. By Dr. Georg Brandes, author of "Eminent Authors of the Nineteenth Century." Translated from the Danish by Samuel C. Eastman. Pp. x, 353; — War and Peace. By Count Lyof N. Tolstoi. From the Russian by Nathan Haskell Dole. Authorized Translation, in four volumes. Vol. 1, pp. v, 359. Vol. 2, pp. 392. Vol. 3, pp. 424. Vol. 4, pp. 405.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. American Episcopacy. By S. D. McConnell, D. D., Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia. 15 cents.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Foreign Missions. Their Place in the Pastorate, in Prayer, in Conference. Ten Lectures. By Augustus C. Thompson, author of "Moravian Missions," "The Mercy Seat," "The Better Land," etc. Pp. vii, 469. 1889. \$1.75; — Whither? A Theological Question for the Times. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D. D., Davenport Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages in the Union Theological Seminary. Pp. xv, 303. 1889. \$1.75.

Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. B. C. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Freiburg i. B. Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher. Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte von Dr. William Moeller, ord. Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Kiel. Erster Band. Pp. xii, 568. 1889. 11 M.; — Die Gewissheit des Glaubens und die Freiheit der Theologie. Von Dr. W. Herrmann, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Marburg. Zweite neu bearbeitete Auflage. Pp. 70. 1889. 1 M. 20 Pf.; — Die Frage nach dem Wesen der Religion. Grundlegung zu einer Methodologie der Religionsphilosophie. Von Lic. Theol. Max Reischle, Professor am Karls gymnasium in Stuttgart. Pp. 124. 1889.

Universalist Publishing House, Boston. Manuals of Faith and Duty. No. V. Salvation. By Orello Cone, D. D., President of Buchtel College, Akron, O. Pp. 101. 1889. Cloth, 25 cents, net.

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Christian Theism, Its Claims and Sanctions. By D. B. Purinton, LL. D., Vice-President and Professor of Metaphysics in West Virginia University. Pp. vii, 300. 1889. \$1.75; — The Story of the Nations. The Hansa Towns. By Helen Zimmern, author of "A Life of Lessing," "Heroic Tales from Firdusi," etc. Pp. xvii, 389. 1889. \$1.50.

Roberts Brothers, Boston. Famous Women. Jane Austen. By Mrs. Charles Malden. Pp. 224. 1889. \$1.00; — French and English. A Comparison. By Philip Gilbert Hamerton, author of "The Intellectual Life," etc. Pp. xix, 480. 1889. \$2.00.

Silver, Burdett & Co., Boston. Institutes of Economics. A Succinct Text-Book of Political Economy for the use of Classes in Colleges, High Schools, and Academies. By Elisha Benjamin Andrews, D. D., LL. D., President of Brown University, Late Professor of Political Economy and Finance in Cornell University. Pp. xii, 228. 1889. Introductory price, \$1.30.

Scribner & Welford, New York. A New Commentary on Genesis. By Franz Delitzsch, D. D., Leipzig. Translated by Sophia Taylor. Vol. II. Pp. 408. 1889. \$3.00.

PAMPHLETS. — Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, containing Papers and Notes for June and December, 1888. Published for the Society by the Secretary, H. G. Mitchell, 72 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass. Pp. 174. — *Leonard Scott Publication Society, New York.* Shakespeariana, June, 1889. *Ibid.*, July, 1889. Each 20 cents. — *Longmans, Green & Co., 152 16th Street, New York; 39 Paternoster Row, London E. C.* The New Review. Vol. I., No. 1, June, 1889. 15 cents. — *Elm Street Printing Company, Cincinnati, Ohio.* The Basis of Moral Reformation. A Lecture delivered at Eastham College, Richmond, Ind., March 23, 1889. By the Rev. J. M. Foster, District Secretary of the National Reform Association. Pp. 33. Christ the King of Nations. An Address before Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio, January 7, 1887. By the same. Pp. 27. 1889.

